

Understanding the Impact Presidential Rhetoric Has on Coalition Building

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Abstract

Literature suggests that coalition building depends on legitimacy, political incentives, proximity and shared culture. However, I find that presidential rhetoric appears to be one of the most influential conditions when seeking to form a coalition in the absence of legitimacy, incentives, proximity and shared culture. Establishing a coalition requires collaboration between a diverse set of sovereign state actors, and highlighting shared interests. To cultivate collaboration the president must appeal to his audience through the use of rhetoric. Thus the U.S president can strengthen their shared interest argument by incorporating principles of moral foundations theory into their argument to enhance the appeal. The theory revolves around a set of five universally accepted values that explain moral reasoning and discusses why humans arrive at the conclusions they do. Moral foundations theory can help explain the underlying causes for states' willingness to join military coalitions with the United States. However, as revealed within the study different audiences attract to different moral intuitions. The overall findings suggests that by incorporating moral intuitions into presidential speeches to emphasize shared interests, the president is able to further persuade state actors to form a coalition. Though the president's usage of the moral foundations theory may not be intentional, the theory can help us advance literature on how coalition building is established. With a large coalition the president can advance policy objectives such as liberty, freedom and other democratic norms. Hence, the goal of this research paper is to present cases that display presidential rhetoric in use as the president uses values of moral intuition to help strengthen their argument that nations should collaborate with the United States because of shared interests.

Introduction

Who left America in charge? This has been a question asked by many scholars over the years as America's global policing has been observed. The United States immerses itself in political and military affairs on just about every continent. Despite the United States' vast amount of power and influence, the hegemonic power still has to answer to a governing global body whose powers are expressed through international organizations. International organizations help establish international standards, and advance rules that facilitate cooperation and collaboration between member states. These organizations are diverse and include members who have different cultures and ideologies. Forging a coalition with states within the international community requires the ability to reach across cultures and communicate shared concerns and interests. Coalitions require joint action from participating states.

For this paper, the focus will be placed on military coalitions. Over the years the United States has managed to form numerous coalitions that were U.S-led despite the global disapproval for U.S policing. This proves that the United States' ability to communicate the need for military interventions outweighs the uneasiness felt by states who oppose U.S policing. How does the president use rhetorical framing to promote military coalitions? To understand this question we must refer to America's commander in chief, the President of the United States. The president acts as the mouth piece for the United States. Although there are other influential state actors that represent the country internationally, the president is perhaps one of the most recognizable figures in international politics.

While there are many state actors involved in the advancement of U.S foreign policy, the United States president has the reputation, status and platform to raise more awareness to policy interests. However, just because the president introduces a policy objective to other sovereign

state actors does not guarantee its success. I presume that in order to successfully pursue collaboration from international state actors the United States' president will have to use language that persuades the audience to support U.S.-back policy initiatives. Unfortunately, persuasive language is not nearly enough to persuade a large audience to join sides with the United States, the rhetoric used must infuse universally accepted language that is understood by all. Thus, the presidential rhetoric used must apply aspects of moral foundation theory as the theory sets forth beliefs that are agreed upon by people from all walks of life.

Presidential rhetoric revolves around the persuasiveness of language and how it aims to gain public support. That support can be from domestic actors, international actors or even both. With that support it is easier for the leader to build military coalitions. However without enough support the leader will have a hard time advancing their interests.

Maintaining support for military coalitions is challenging in the international arena, where influential actors are more diverse and harder to appease. In order to appeal to such a wide range of influential actors the leader must use language that also has similar meaning in other cultures. The President of the United States is one of the most well-known figures in the world. As an extremely recognizable political figure, the president has the platform to reach a large audience. Due to the president's high profile, they have a louder voice when advocating for U.S foreign policy goals, as the president is the embodiment of U.S interests. Thus, providing the president with the credibility needed to persuade states that forming a coalition is within the best interests of all the parties involved.

In my paper I propose that coalition building will play an important role in the United States' ability to advance foreign policy goals, and the language used by the United States' president during speeches to the international community can be beneficial for coalition building when

principles of moral intuition are applied. Hence, the goal of this research paper is to provide cases that show presidential rhetoric's use of moral intuition as a means to form military coalitions strong enough to advance foreign policy objectives that hope to counter potential threats.

Outline of Paper

This paper is divided into five sections. The first section examines existing literature on what may inspire countries to willingly pair with the United States during U.S-led military coalitions. Current literature recognizes that political incentives, proximity, authorization from a global body, and shared culture are the cause of sovereign state actors working under a U.S-led coalition. However, I would like to add onto the existing literature and argue that presidential rhetoric can also be seen as a mechanism that supports coalition building. Presidential rhetoric's integration of universally accepted moral reasoning helps the message to be more effective. In this section I also discuss how presidential rhetoric emerged as a discipline, and how the themes have remained consistent throughout the years. Current literature suggests that the strongest public appeals centers around humanitarian efforts. Due to human discomfort in witnessing others suffer, presidents will center their rhetoric around human rights violations as a way to coerce states into coalitions to prevent anguish. Although principles of the moral foundations theory has not yet been discussed in the study of presidential rhetoric, this paper hopes to examine how U.S presidents may have unintentionally used concepts from the moral foundations theory in their speeches with a focus on the post-9/11 world.

The second section of this paper examines the thought process that went into formulating my theory. In this section I will define the moral intuitions, and how specific moral intuitions may be more advantageous than others. The objective of the moral foundations theory is to

explain moral reasoning, and how humans draw conclusions based around a universally accepted code of ethics. I believe that the president's rhetoric will remain consistent and transcend beyond party politics. To further support my theory I will present a case of presidential rhetoric where the president addresses international actors with a rhetorical style that has a high frequency of moral intuitions being used which aided in the successful formation of a U.S-led coalition. My theory posits that out of all of the moral intuitions harm/care will be the main intuition referenced by the president when seeking to build a military coalition to advance policy goals. As coalition building remains a key part in maintaining the international order, the president will structure their speeches around the harm/care rhetoric as this intuition most accurately align with democratic values and the promotion of liberal internationalism. As the moral foundations theory ascribes harm/care as a universally accepted intuition, the president will use it when seeking to build coalitions.

Following this section, the third section will discuss my research methods as well as the data that was collected. In order to collect the data I will analyze U.S military interventions from 2001-2015, and highlight the interventions that were U.S-led coalitions. From there I will narrow my list down to see which U.S-led coalitions were not authorized by an international body, had more than two collaborators and how many collaborators were not close in proximity to the conflict. From there I will analyze the presidential speeches made that could have possibly led to the mobilization of the coalition. To analyze presidential rhetoric, I will conduct a content analysis of speeches made by U.S presidents to examine their usage of moral intuition as they attempt to establish coalitions. In my content analysis I create descriptor codes that will allow me to draw patterns between the speeches and classify them under their respective moral intuition theme. Also, in this section I will include the qualifications that were needed in order to create

the descriptors as well as the case selection process I went through to decide on the material being used in the content analysis. Lastly, in this section I will discuss my limitations before presenting my findings.

In the fourth section I will present my results and the patterns that I found in the content analysis. There I will present the themes that were frequently used as well as the overlapping themes that were present in the presidential speeches. I also present brief excerpts from the speech transcripts to further support my theory.

Lastly, in section five I will discuss the implications of these findings and offer recommendations for future studies to advance the study on presidential rhetoric.

Chapter One: Literature Review

Coalition Building: Legitimization

According to Atsushi Tago, most scholars use coalition and alliances interchangeably.¹ It is assumed that coalitions will automatically be formed with states that have alliances, however there are many factors involved that can influence the formation. System level, dyad level, state level, and operation level all contribute to a state's willingness to participate in coalitions. At the system level, states that are typically stronger and have more resources to provide are more likely to join a coalition. At the dyad level, aspects such as language, and formal alliances are important when a state considers joining a coalition. While at the operations level, legitimization from the United Nations plays an important factor for states to consider joining a coalition, as the United Nations is the largest international organization and it is widely respected.² Researcher

¹ Atsushi Tago. "Why do states join US-led military coalitions?: The compulsion of the coalition's missions and legitimacy." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 7, no. 2 (2007): 180.

² Ibid, 195.

Srdjan Vucetic confirms this revelation as it is revealed in his study that UN approval among other things such as shared interests increases the number of participants in U.S-led coalitions.³

Coalition Building: Political Incentives

Drawing more on the operational level of coalition building, Scott Wolford and Emily Hencken Ritter suggest that a national leader's job security impacts their decision to form a coalition. When politically insecure leaders are offered to form coalitions, they are more inclined to enter into coalitions with the purpose of securing incentives that will improve their chances of remaining in office.⁴ Although there may be instability within the country, and it would be unfavorable to be involved in a coalition, politically insecure leaders tend to take the risk. The findings suggests that coalition building is a popular policy pursued by politically unstable leaders.⁵ Forming a coalition with the United States provides political incentives to unstable leaders.

These political incentives can take the form of prestige, security, and foreign aid. The United States is a major super power in international affairs. Its vast amount of resources and influence is undeniably a factor when states join in U.S-led coalitions. According to scholars J. Andres Gannon and Daniel Kent, states that seek to build a stronger relationship with their coalition leader provide more contributions. To Gannon and Kent a state's strongest ally is not always a state with a lot of resources, rather states that are weakly aligned that desire a stronger relationship with the coalition leader.⁶ Strengthening their relationship with the coalition leader

³ Srdjan Vucetic. "Bound to follow? The Anglosphere and US-led coalitions of the willing, 1950–2001." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 1 (2011): 36.

⁴ Wolford, Scott, and Emily Hencken Ritter. "National leaders, political security, and the formation of military coalitions." *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (2016): 550.

⁵ Ibid, 550.

⁶ Gannon, J. Andrés, and Daniel Kent. "Keeping Your Friends Close, but Acquaintances Closer: Why Weakly Allied States Make Committed Coalition Partners." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65, no. 5 (2021): 889-918.

can also bring about status. As the case with Denmark and Norway. Researchers Peter Viggo Jakobsen, Jens Ringsmose and Hakon Lunde Saxi attribute that prestige was a contributing factor for Denmark and Norway to contribute to the U.S interventions in the Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. Despite not having a direct connection to these wars, or any major security concerns Denmark and Norway made significant contributions to the U.S-led coalitions.⁷

However, Tago argues that aid incentives are the main reason for states to join in military coalitions with the United States. Following their 2007 study that believes the authorization of formal international organization bodies are influential to states joining military coalitions, Tago expands on their viewpoint and suggests that the votes for economic and military coalitions are successful within these international organizations because of the United States' aid distribution. In their study Tago examines 15 post-World War II U.S-led military coalitions and finds evidence that the United States punished states that did not participate by cutting foreign aid and security protections. However, states that did contribute were not always rewarded.⁸

Coalition Building: Shared Culture

If states that form coalitions with the United States are not rewarded sustainably for their efforts what other reason could there be for participating? Srdjan Vucetic believes that English speakers are more likely to join coalitions with the United States. Building off of Tago's 2007 belief that English speakers were more likely to form coalitions with the United States, Vucetic finds that the core anglosphere states: Australia, Britain, Canada, and New Zealand were more willing to fight in American wars.⁹ To further support this argument Vucetic conducts an

⁷ Jakobsen, Peter Viggo, Jens Ringsmose, and Håkon Lunde Saxi. "Prestige-seeking small states: Danish and Norwegian military contributions to US-led operations." *European journal of international security* 3, no. 2 (2018): 256.

⁸ Atsushi Tago. "Is there an aid-for-participation deal?: US economic and military aid policy to coalition forces (non) participants." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 8, no. 3 (2008): 395.

⁹ Srdjan Vucetic. "Bound to follow? The Anglosphere and US-led coalitions of the willing, 1950–2001." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 1 (2011): 43.

empirical analysis that takes a sample of U.S-led military coalitions between 1950 and 2001 and finds evidence supporting the claim that English speakers are more likely to “cooperate, integrate and fight together”.¹⁰ At the core of Vucetic’s argument is that identity and shared cultures are what draws states in to form coalitions with the United States. However, shared interests has the ability to help leaders overcome their ethnic bias as well.¹¹

This adds on to Tago’s earlier finding that when states have shared values and customs they also have shared interests. Having a shared value with the United States may enhance the chances of a state joining its military coalition.¹² Shared values such as freedom, a competent government, human rights, and other democratic norms can strengthen coalition building.

Moral Foundations Theory

Shared values can be better expressed by incorporating universally accepted language that can aid in the country’s argument for developing coalitions. To better understand the principles behind universally accepted language researchers Jesse Graham, Brian Nosek, and Jonathan Haidt introduce the Moral Foundations Theory. Identifying as pluralist who believe that there are an infinite amount of moral ideals that human beings follow, the researchers look to the role of evolution as the driving force behind moral understanding.¹³ Cognitive adaptation is what shapes morality among people in this advanced take on nature verse nurture.¹⁴ The researchers acknowledge the work of previous theorists and use their work to lay the groundwork for their

¹⁰ Srdjan Vucetic. "Bound to follow? The Anglosphere and US-led coalitions of the willing, 1950–2001." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 1 (2011): 42.

¹¹ Daniel Butler and Tavits Margit. "Shared interests foster interethnic cooperation among politicians." *Political Science Research and Methods* 9, no. 3 (2021): 627.

¹² Atsushi Tago. "Why do states join US-led military coalitions?: The compulsion of the coalition's missions and legitimacy." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 7, no. 2 (2007): 183.

¹³ Jesse Graham, Jonathan Haidt, Sena Koleva, Matt Motyl, Ravi Iyer, Sean P. Wojcik, and Peter H. Ditto. "Moral foundations theory: The pragmatic validity of moral pluralism." In *Advances in experimental social psychology*, vol. 47, pp. 58-59. Academic Press, 2013.

¹⁴ Ibid, 62

theory. Previous literature places universally accepted morals into three categories: the ethic of autonomy (harm, justice), the ethic of community (social order), and the ethic of divinity (purity and sanctity).¹⁵ Adding onto to the existing literature Haidt and Joseph identified the five best universally accepted moral institutions: care/harm, fairness/cheating, loyalty/betrayal, authority/subversion, and sanctity/degradation. While these were the original institutions Haidt and Joseph laid out, the model has been adjusted to fit within the framework of a questionnaire the researchers developed.¹⁶ As mentioned previously, there are multiple ways to group these principles. However, I will use the groupings that are commonly referenced in research around the moral foundation theory. In a recent moral foundations questionnaire, Haidt divided the foundations into five sets of moral institutions: Harm/Care, Fairness/Reciprocity, Ingroup/Loyalty, Authority/Respect, and Purity/Sanctity.

Haidt posits that Harm/Care values compassion and kindness.¹⁷ This foundation originally formed as a sensitivity towards the suffering of offspring, but later evolved into the discomfort for suffering in general.¹⁸ Ingroup/Loyalty prioritizes patriotism and sees diversity as a weakening of the group. Groups are to remain like-minded. This foundation also believes that betrayal and dissent is “immoral”.¹⁹ The Fairness/Reciprocity foundation values justice and equality, and discourages inequality.²⁰ Haidt defines the next foundation, Purity/Sanctity, as the by-product of the “emotion of disgust”, where denial of bodily impulses are rewarded. This foundation believes that bodily passions such as lust, gluttony and greed are impure.²¹ As for the

¹⁵ Ibid, 59.

¹⁶ Miles, Matthew R. "Presidential appeals to moral foundations: How modern presidents persuade cross-ideologues." *Policy Studies Journal* 44, no. 4 (2016): 471.

¹⁷ Colin Prince. "Moral foundation theory and the law." *Seattle UL Rev.* 33 (2009): 1296.

¹⁸ Ibid, 1296.

¹⁹ Ibid, 1297.

²⁰ Ibid, 1296.

²¹ Ibid, 1297.

foundation of Authority/Respect, values revolve around a hierarchical social structure. This foundation places value on leadership, and views disrespect towards authority as “immoral and anti-social”.²² As it relates to presidential rhetoric, universally accepted moral institutions are referenced to strengthen the appeal.

My goal is to add onto the existing literature that believes that authorization, political incentives, proximity and shared culture ensures successful coalition building. I believe that incorporating principles of the moral foundations theory can help better express the reasoning behind joining a military coalition. I believe that in order for principles of the moral foundations theory to be used correctly, the United States must use strong rhetoric that places emphasis on shared interests. As the speaker for the United States in international affairs, the United States president must use a strong rhetorical technique in order to successfully build a coalition. The speaker’s use of moral foundations theory can help explain the underlying causes for states’ willingness to join military coalitions with the United States.

Defining Presidential rhetoric

As discussed in the introduction, presidential rhetoric revolves around the study of political communication and the communication style that American presidents have used to gather public support for policies. Presidential rhetoric uses both verbal and visual rhetorical strategies to persuade audiences. For this paper presidential rhetoric as it relates to rhetorical language will be the focus. The powers of the president are listed in article II of the Constitution, however the power to persuade remains a most commonly used tactic by the president that was not written in the Constitution. Presidential rhetoric is most commonly used when generating

²² Ibid, 1297.

support for specific policy goals. One of the most influential pieces written on the powers of the president, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*, comes from political scientist Richard Neustadt. Neustadt's introduction to the presidential power of persuasion offered a fresh outlook to the study of presidential power.

Through the office of the President of the United States, presidents inherit a platform that is accepted and acknowledged by a wide audience. Acting as the focal point in the media gives the president the platform to use rhetoric to shape his agenda. To Neustadt, the media could be considered a fourth branch of the government.²³ According to Neustadt, "power is persuasion, and persuasion becomes power".²⁴ In the earlier years of presidential rhetoric it was discovered that the media can be used as a tool to enhance the persuasiveness. Neustadt makes clear that the president's status enhances the effectiveness of persuasion tactics. While the media is an effective tool for appealing to large audiences, it is the position of presidency that draws in the public attention.

For example, when trying to gain congressional support for the Marshall Plan following World War II, President Truman turned towards the public. The Marshall Plan aimed to provide financial assistance to European allies as they rebuilt their societies following the war. In speeches made by President Truman from 1947 to 1948, he drew attention to the Marshall Plan.²⁵ While there were many important, respectable and credible state actors behind the scenes such as Henry Stimson, Robert P. Patterson, James Webb, and Arthur Vandenberg, no one had

²³ Richard E. Neustadt. *Presidential power and the modern presidents: The politics of leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*. Simon and Schuster, 1991, 29.

²⁴ Ibid, 33.

²⁵ Ibid, 45.

nearly enough power to draw attention to the policy goal as the president.²⁶ Through public advocacy Truman promoted the Marshall Plan, and received bipartisan support, which further supports Neustadt's original point, that the office of the presidency grants the president with the most powerful weapon of all: persuasion.

Persuasion holds the key to successful presidential rhetoric.

Kennedy energized his American audience as he recentered Cold War policies around America's sense of purpose in the world.²⁷ Internationally Kennedy mobilized democratic values and freedom as a way to draw attention to his cause. It was America's duty to introduce the world to democratic practices and prove that the Soviet's way of governing was wrong. Under this impression, it was up to America to turn as many countries into democracies as possible, as democracies were the only suitable way of governing. This arrangement of presidential rhetoric guided American strategy until the end of the Cold War in the 1980s. As defined by Theodore Otto Windt, Jr., the discipline of presidential rhetoric focuses on "presidential public persuasion as it affects the ability of a president to exercise the powers of the office".²⁸ Presidential rhetoric provided Kennedy, and later Lyndon B. Johnson, the ammunition to build momentum for foreign policy at home.

For the American public, imposing American values on the rest of the world was a good thing. It was assumed that as more countries became democratic, the safer it would be not just for America but for the rest of the world. To America, every nation aspired to be democratic, and it was up to them to help guide the way. Also, more democracies meant more alliances, and more

²⁶ Ibid, 45.

²⁷ Benjamin Brooks. "Presidential Rhetoric and the Cold War: Redefinition of American Exceptionalism." *History in the Making* 1, no. 1 (2012): 11.

²⁸ Theodore Otto Windt. "Presidential rhetoric: Definition of a field of study." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1986): 103.

alliances meant the prevention of Soviet expansion. However, to international actors the enforcement of American values was not warmly welcomed.

Presidential rhetoric adapts to the U.S grand strategy at that time. In the post-war world we see presidential rhetoric promote collaboration between international powers to create global stability. While during the Cold War, we see presidential rhetoric used to boost American exceptionalism, and promote democracy around the world. Though, in the 1990s as the United States emerged as a hegemonic power, we see that America has shifted towards a benevolent hegemon that prioritizes human rights and world prosperity. Over the years we have seen America use morality as a means of promoting democratic values. For the sake of this paper I will analyze how arguments on morality can be seen through the use of moral intuitions.

The president's ability to define the situation, allows for the leader to shape the context in which events or proposals are viewed by the public. According to Zarefsky presidents can exercise their power of persuasion by their power of definition. Presidents can create "associate terms", and terms that can "disassociate", meaning that they can break down the concept into parts and highlight the more favorable part through the use of symbols and frame shifting.²⁹ An example of this can be found in President Bush's famous 'axis of evil' speech where he groups Iraq, a state that the United States was not fighting at the time, with Iran and North Korea. America's fight with Afghanistan had nothing to do with Iraq, however in his speech President Bush associates terrorism with Iraq.³⁰ According to researchers Amy Gershkoff and Shana

²⁹ Zarefsky, David. "Presidential rhetoric and the power of definition." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (2004): 612-614.

³⁰ Roger Smith. "Religious rhetoric and the ethics of public discourse: the case of George W. Bush." *Political Theory* 36, no. 2 (2008): 272-300.

Kushner, the war in Iraq received large public support mainly due to President Bush's ability to frame the conflict with Iraq as an extension of the war on terror.³¹

It can be imposed that presidential rhetoric defines reality.³² Drawing from Zaresky's account, Rex focuses on President Bush's use of "misleading" rhetoric to associate 9/11 with Iraq.³³ Throughout history we see presidents mislead the public with their use of rhetoric, whether it be to support international relations, promote democracy or prevent another power from rising up, U.S presidents have always used rhetoric to persuade audiences to support their initiatives. However after 9/11, presidential rhetoric intensified. An attack on American soil showed just how essential it was to create a safe environment for America. In order to ensure America's safety democratic values needed to be accepted globally. In the following years to come presidential rhetoric would place an emphasis on human rights, fair elections and open markets, and as one of the most powerful political figures in the world, the president has a large platform to make this the focal point of U.S foreign policy as they continue to sway audiences to their side.³⁴

Over the years presidential rhetoric has taken on many forms, however the form that this paper will analyze is its moral appeal. As the United States president stands before international state actors belonging to different cultures and following different ideologies, they have to adjust their rhetoric to be universally accepted. Prestige and popularity may not always work to gain public support, however public disapproval can bring about resistance.³⁵ Aware of this, the

³¹ Amy Gershkoff and Shana Kushner. "Shaping public opinion: The 9/11-Iraq connection in the Bush administration's rhetoric." *Perspectives on Politics* 3, no. 3 (2005): 525.

³² Ibid, 612.

³³ Justin Rex. "The president's war agenda: a rhetorical view." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2011): 110.

³⁴ Jordan Tama. "The contemporary presidency: the power and limitations of commissions: the Iraq Study Group, Bush, Obama, and Congress." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2011): 135-155.

³⁵ Ibid, 76.

president has to adjust his rhetoric to appeal to more than just their base. The president is responsible for using language that is universally agreed upon to appeal to larger audiences. Coalition building relies on the power of persuasion offered through the use of presidential rhetoric. Moral foundations theory can be used to advance studies on the formation of coalitions.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

Forming a coalition

To further build upon my theory I would like to refer to a recent usage of presidential rhetoric in the post-9/11 world by examining President Obama's 2014 speech to the United Nations that resulted in the passage of resolution 2249. This resolution provided the justification needed for the United States to fight against the Islamic State (ISIL) and end the flow of foreign terrorist fighters in Iraq and Syria. By receiving formal recognition from an international organization to legitimize, this military coalition meets the top qualification for reasons why a state would want to join in coalition with the United States as provided by Tago. Not only does the coalition check off the authorization criteria, it also provided political incentives as the states that joined were incentivized to do so to strengthen their relationship with the United States and maintain the rewards it brings.³⁶ The coalition also consisted of numerous regional groups that were in close proximity to the conflict.

In his address to the United Nations President Obama frequently uses harm/care language. Harm/care language is his most frequently used moral intuition. In his speech Obama also overlaps moral intuition themes for more than half of the speech. The most frequently used overlap theme was harm/care & ingroup/loyalty. Obama's speech revolves around the pursuit of democratic values and developing a coalition of likeminded states to put an end to human

³⁶ Patrick A. Mello. "Incentives and Constraints: A Configurational Account of European Involvement in the anti-Daesh Coalition." 14.

suffering and promote prosperity. For example, Obama when Obama says “*With access to technology that allows small groups to do great harm, they have embraced a nightmarish vision that would divide the world into adherents and infidels -- killing as many innocent civilians as possible, employing the most brutal methods to intimidate people within their communities*”³⁷, he is employing harm/care language to express the dangers that loom for civilization if hostile regimes are granted access to dangerous weapons. President Obama is using this language to elaborate on the shared interests that can help pave the way for a coalition.

To further examine this idea let us examine his use of overlapping themes. As mentioned previously harm/care & ingroup/loyalty are the main intuitions that are being overlapped in his speech. In his speech President Obama states that, “*Together with our partners, America is training and equipping the Syrian opposition to be a counterweight to the terrorists of ISIL and the brutality of the Assad regime*”, which further supports my argument that President Obama is using the shared interest of eliminating terrorism in the Middle East to advance his case for forming a coalition³⁸. The criteria for forming a coalition mentioned in the literature review section believes that authorization is the main condition needed to form a coalition. After authorization from the United Nations, President Obama was able to form a successful U.S-led coalition to intervene in Syria and fight ISIL.

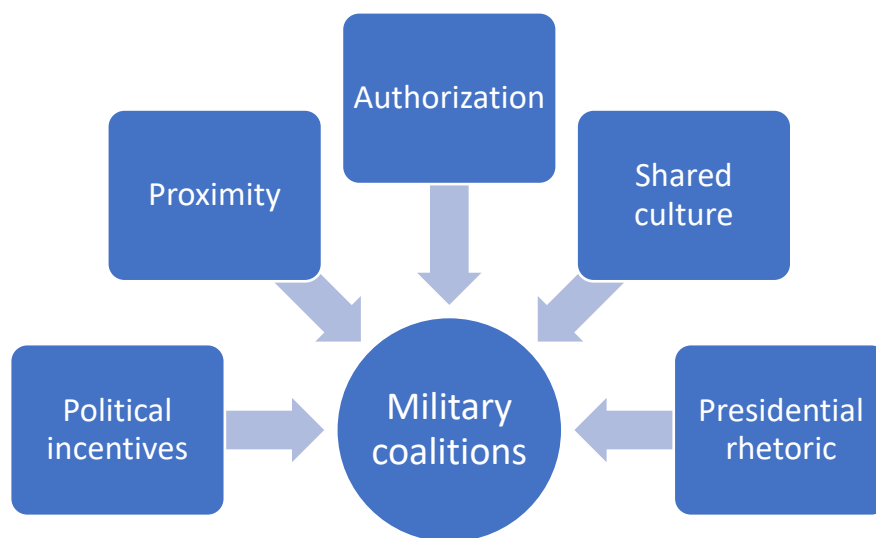
While Obama’s ability to form a coalition could be attributed to the United Nation’s authorization to intervene, what can be said when an international organization does not provide

³⁷ Barack Obama, “Remarks by President Obama in the Address to the United Nations General Assembly”, transcript of speech delivered at UN Headquarters, New York, NY, September 24, 2014, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/24/remarks-president-obama-address-united-nations-general-assembly>

³⁸ Ibid.

authorization to intervene military but states still form coalitions with the United States? If states are not in close proximity to the conflict or share a culture why else would a military coalition with the United States be beneficial? I believe that an infusion of the existing criteria can be summed up as shared interests. It could be assumed that states form coalitions with the United States because of shared values. When states have shared values, they in turn will have shared interests, and will work together to achieve those interests. Adding onto the idea that shared interests acts as an justification for military coalitions, I argue that presidential rhetoric's use of moral intuition to appeal to a diverse audience enhances the understanding of shared interests.

Figure 1



My theory hopes to advance the discussion on coalition building. As the groundwork for why coalitions are formed has been laid, I hope to add an additional layer to the existing literature that suggests presidential rhetoric contributes to a leader's ability to form a coalition as well. As suggested by scholars in the previous section, legitimization, proximity, shared culture, and political incentives are the main reason behind coalition building. Presidential rhetoric should also be taken into consideration when discussing how international military coalitions are

formed. Presidential rhetoric causes military coalitions to form. Military coalitions cannot be formed before the president addresses the international community. It is within the president's speech that authorization is sought, political incentives are discussed, and shared culture is highlighted. While the narrative used by the president varies, their goal of persuasion remains the same.

I believe that rhetoric plays an important role in coalition building. Presidential rhetoric's persuasive nature has the ability to shape the narrative and influence the situation. For example, audiences are more likely to act when there is a humanitarian crisis unfolding.³⁹ Narrative framing is an important tool used by many political leaders to generate support for their initiatives.⁴⁰ Winning the hearts and minds of a diverse set of international actors is needed in order to advance U.S foreign policy objectives. This is not to say that the existing theories are not influential in coalition building, I simply would like to argue that when understanding how coalitions are formed, it would be a mistake to exclude presidential rhetoric from the discussion. The appeals used in presidential rhetoric can advance coalition building. I also believe that principles of the moral foundations theory can explain the appeals used in presidential rhetoric. To better understand presidential rhetoric's role in coalition building, I propose that we eliminate the other variables (legitimization, proximity, shared culture, and political incentives) to see how presidential rhetoric holds up on its own.

³⁹ Sarah Maxey. "The power of humanitarian narratives: a domestic coalition theory of justifications for military action." *Political Research Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2020): 680.

⁴⁰ Baum, Matthew A. "Going private: Public opinion, presidential rhetoric, and the domestic politics of audience costs in US foreign policy crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 5 (2004): 603-631.

Chapter Three: Research Methods

Case Selection

Table 1 contains a list of U.S military interventions from 2001 to 2015. The chart also displays the U.S military intervention that were coalitions. An asterisk is placed next to the interventions that were approved by U.N resolutions. The interventions were not considered coalitions if the United States only had one other collaborator, if the coalitions mainly consisted of participants with shared cultures, if the intervention consisted of the U.S and geographically close states, were approved by the United Nations and were not U.S-led. Based on this information I selected the war in Iraq to be of focus. The war in Iraq was U.S-led, consisted of a wider variety of collaborators who were not in close proximity to the conflict, and was not approved by two highly respected international organizations, the United Nations and NATO. The reason that I have listed lack of authorization, lack of shared culture, proximity concerns, and U.S-led as conditions is due to the fact that without these conditions the coalitions should have not generated the amount of international support it did according to research, however it did. How was the United States able to frame military intervention in a way that persuaded the international community to intervene? My theory believes that through the use of presidential rhetoric, the United States president was able to better express the shared interests that the mission entailed by using moral intuitions that are accepted universally.

Table 1 U.S military interventions

*War in Afghanistan 2001-2021	U.S- led coalition	Counterterrorism operations
Yemen 2002	Saud-led ; U.S supported	Missile launch
Philippines OEF 2002	U.S only	Training, assisting, advising
Cote d'Ivoire 2002	U.S only	Evacuation
War in Iraq	U.S-led coalition	Counterterrorism
Liberia 2003	U.S only	Evacuation
Georgia & Djibouti 2003	U.S; local forces	Assist in training
Haiti 2004	U.S; U.N forces followed	Prepared way for UN Forces
N.W Pakistan 2005-2006	U.S; local forces; U.K assisted	Drone strikes
Operation Willing Spirit 2005-2008	U.S only	Hostage rescue mission
Lebanon 2006	U.S only	Evacuation
*Somali Civil War 2007-present	U.S-led coalition; local forces (AMISON); Italy, Turkey, U.K	Air strikes
Somalia Battle of Ras Kamboni 2007	U.S; local forces	Airstrikes
Operation Ocean Shield 2009-2016	NATO	Naval operations
Yemen 2010-present	U.S only	Counterterrorism operations
Operation New Dawn 2010-2011	U.S only (continuation of Iraqi Freedom)	Advising, assisting and training
Operation Neptune 2011	U.S only	Osama bin Laden
Uganda Operation Observant Compass 2011-2017	U.S; local forces	Apprehending Joseph Kony
* Libya Operation Odyssey Dawn 2011	U.S only; NATO forces followed	Implemented no fly zone before handing off to NATO
Jordan 2012	U.S only	Contain the Syrian Civil War
Turkey 2012	U.S only	Prevent Syrian missile strikes
Chad 2012	U.S only	Evacuation
Mali 2013	U.S assisted the French	Refueling
Somalia 2013	U.S assisted the French	Hostage rescue
Somalia 2013	U.S only	Raid; killed a terrorist leader
Uganda 2014-present	U.S only	Search for Kony
*Iraq intervention 2014-2021	U.S-led coalition	Airstrikes; train Iraqi troops
*Syria 2014-present	U.S-led coalition	Campaign against ISIL
Yemen 2014	U.S only	Hostage rescue
Libya 2015-2019	U.S; local forces; UK assisted	Airstrikes; drone attacks
Iran 2015	U.S only	Shield vessels
Cameroon 2015-present	U.S only	Provide intelligence; train

Interventions that have an (*) placed next to it have been justified through U.N resolutions

Kelly, Martin. "American Involvement in Wars From Colonial Times to the Present." ThoughtCo.

H1: I hypothesize that the more harm/care language is referenced in a presidential speech, the more likely the United States is able to form a military coalition.

The international community collaborates through the use of international organizations such as the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, the World Health Organization, and countless others. However, the focus of this paper will be on the United Nations and NATO. As mentioned in numerous studies above, the United Nations is seen as the primary organization that grants legitimacy to a coalition. Unlike the Organization of American States (OAS), or even the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), the United Nations is universal, and authorization by its Security Council attracts more states to join due to coalition credibility.⁴¹ As one of the leading international organization, the U.N is the world's largest international organization with 193 members. The selection of the United Nations was also made based on its

⁴¹ Ibid, 187. Tago

size as the largest international organization, its endurance through many decades and the ideological diversity of its members. As for my selection of NATO, it is one of the leading international military organizations in the world, and has the right to carry out military operations in NATO states. When speaking at the U.N and NATO, the U.S president has to make compelling arguments that draws from universally accepted moral intuitions to maintain or establish a large coalition. This paper hopes to explore the formulation of rhetorical techniques employed while the president pursues foreign policy goals.

My dependent variable in this case will be presidential rhetoric as I hope to see if presidential rhetoric remains the same in the coalition environment, my independent variable. In order to gather the data that I need for my content analysis I will use archival analysis. With the documents produced from the archival analysis I will be able to begin my content analysis. The sources I will use to conduct my archival analysis are: The National Archives and archives from the U.S State Department, and the White House archives. My content analysis will help explain my theory on presidential rhetoric and how the language used in presidential speeches incorporates rhetoric that revolves around moral intuitions when seeking to form coalitions that will advance U.S foreign policy interests.

My units of analysis are the speeches given by President Bush. While analyzing the content in the speeches I will refer back to the five intuitions listed under the Moral Foundations Theory: Harm/Care, Fairness/Reciprocity, Ingroup/Loyalty, Authority/Respect, and Purity/Sanctity. These intuitions will be categories used for my coding. The intuitions, along with examples from both transcripts can be viewed in **Table 2**.

Table 2 Moral Intuition

Theme (category)	Definition	Example
Harm/Care	originally formed as a sensitivity towards the suffering of offspring, but later evolved into the discomfort for suffering in general; cares for the promotion of human prosperity	<p>"In the attacks on America a year ago, we saw the destructive intentions of our enemies (23). This threat hides within many nations, including my own (24). In cells and camps, terrorists are plotting further destruction and building new bases for their war against civilization"(25).</p> <p>" Czechs and Slovaks learned through the harsh experience of 1938, that when great democracies fail to confront danger, greater dangers follow(77). And the people of the Baltics learned that aggression left unchecked by the great democracies can rob millions of their liberty and their lives(78)".</p> <p>" Tens of thousands of political opponents and ordinary citizens have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, summary execution, and torture by beating and burning, electric shock, starvation, mutilation, and rape (38). Wives are tortured in front of their husbands, children in the presence of their parents, and all of these horrors concealed from the world by the apparatus of a totalitarian state (39).</p> <p>"A dictator who has used weapons of mass destruction on his own people must not be allowed to produce or possess those weapons (95)".</p>
Ingroup/Loyalty	prioritizes patriotism and sees diversity as a weakening of the group. Groups are to remain like-minded. This foundation also believes that betrayal and dissent is "immoral"	<p>"And every new member of our Alliance makes a contribution of character(71). Tomorrow, NATO grows larger (72). Tomorrow, the soul of Europe grows stronger (73). Members recently added to NATO and those invited to join bring greater clarity to purposes of our Alliance, because they understand the lessons of the last century(74)".</p> <p>"My Nation will work with the U.N. Security Council to meet our common challenge (123). If Iraq's regime defies us again, the world must move deliberately, decisively to hold Iraq to account (124). We will work with the U.N. Security Council for the necessary resolutions (125). But the purposes of the United States should not be doubted (126)".</p>
Fairness/Reciprocity	values justice and equality, that discourages inequality	"In the Middle East, there can be no peace for either side without freedom for both sides".
Purity/Sanctity	the by-product of the "emotion of disgust", where denial of bodily impulses are rewarded. This foundation believes that bodily passions such as lust, gluttony and greed are impure	<p>"The founding members resolved that the peace of the world must never again be destroyed by the will and wickedness of any man".</p> <p>"Those who have lived through a struggle of good against evil are never neutral between them(76)".</p> <p>" Great evil is stirring in the world(128)".</p> <p>"May God bless you all(147)".</p>
Authority/Respect	values revolve around a hierarchical social structure. This foundation places value on leadership, and views disrespect towards authority as "immoral and anti-social".	<p>"In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolutions 686 and 687, demanded that Iraq return all prisoners from Kuwait and other lands. Iraq's regime agreed. It broke this promise".</p> <p>"In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolution 687, demanded that Iraq renounce all involvement with terrorism and permit no terrorist organizations to operate in Iraq. Iraq's regime agreed. It broke this promise."</p> <p>"I'm honored to be traveling with members of my senior staff (15). The Secretary of State of the United States Colin Powell, who's done such a fantastic job for our country and for world peace (16). Condoleezza Rice, who's my National Security Advisor, is here; Chief of Staff Andy Card; Ambassador Nick Burns to NATO (17). A few others who I don't particularly want to recognize for fear of damaging my reputation (18). (Laughter.) But all of them doing a great job (19). Thank you all for coming (20)".</p>

To begin this process, I evaluated the transcripts of both speeches. Code descriptors, the compilation of information that describes the data, were created to analyze the language patterns. By examining the transcripts sentence by sentence, I was able to develop code descriptors, that were consistent across the transcripts. As listed in **Table 3**, the coding criteria was formed after finding common traits among the descriptors. When determining the rules of what to include for the descriptors I referred back to the definitions of each moral intuitions, while using logical reasoning to exclude certain criteria.

Table 3 Coding Descriptors

Harm/Care	Authority/Respect	Ingroup/Loyalty	Sanctity/Purity	Fairness/Reciprocity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civilians suffering under harmful undemocratic conditions • Defiance of hostile regime endangers international order • Challenging authorities figures in the international community • Violent behavior of regime and rejection of universally accepted norms • Pursuing weapons of mass destruction jeopardizes the safety of humanity • Belief that everyone is entitled to human rights, liberty, and democracy • Advancement of human prosperity to eliminate suffering 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognized power's leadership role of enforcing rules • America's obligation to ensure cooperation via international organizations • Duties of the organization • Subject's acceptance of enforcement of rules set forth by leader • Enforces decisions for future governance • Responsibility to prevent threat • Acknowledging authoritative figures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective action to pursue a common interest • Collective action initiatives • Collaboration of powers • Sharing resources with cooperative players to ensure collaboration • Compliance will create openness to group activities • Collective challenges • Expanding group ties and membership • Collective disappointment in governance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acceptance that people are inherently evil • Good vs evil • Spirituality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal freedom with those around the world • Seeking accountability

Qualifications of descriptors

When establishing the descriptors for sentences that referred to a collective call to action or the joining of forces to pursue common interests as it set forth an “us versus them” concept it was presumed that it bare similarities to the ingroup/loyalty principle discussed in the moral foundations theory. Harm/care descriptors revolve around human impact, and how human life is either regressed or progressed in the situation. This can involve the loss of civilian life, as well as the pursuit of advancing democratic values such as liberty, human rights and prosperity. Harm/care descriptors are more ambiguous than the other descriptors, as it also takes into consideration the harmful impacts objects can have on human life. For example, in both transcripts Bush equated the use of weapons with the loss of human life. Weapons that were in the possession of an adversary were perceived as threats to the lives of innocent civilians. Descriptors for authority/respect are based around the rules established by an authoritative figure. This includes the ability for a leader to enforce, establish or uphold a set of rules as well as the leader's response to those rules being challenged or threatened. It also includes the

acknowledgment of an authoritative figure as a form of respect. In order for descriptors to reflect sanctity/purity the language in the transcripts needed to include a religious aspect that displayed the acceptance that human behavior is inherently bad. As for the descriptor qualifications for fairness/reciprocity, descriptors were based on the pursuit of justice and equal access to resources and overall equality. These descriptors were present in both transcripts however, the frequency of intuitions varied among each speech.

Overlap of moral intuitions

After establishing code descriptors, similar descriptors are grouped and placed into the five themes: Harm/Care, Authority/Respect, Fairness/Reciprocity, Sanctity/Purity, and Ingroup/Loyalty. However, the next task involves handling the sentences that overlapped and referenced more than one intuition. When the sentence mentions more than one intuition as new theme is created joining the two intuitions. For example, in both of President Bush's speeches he frequently connects harm/care and ingroup/loyalty intuitions when presenting call to action rhetoric. In **Table 5** are the twenty possible outcomes for overlapping themes. Once the descriptors were placed under their respective themes, the transcripts were color coded to reflect the moral intuition it resembled. The overlapping themes were assigned their own color as well.

Limitations

Before I reveal the results of my analysis, I would like to acknowledge my limitations. Due to the subjective nature of content analysis, there is some level of personal interpretation involved, however after creating code descriptors it eliminated the chance for biasness. After comparing similar transcripts by the leaders studied I can say that there was careful consideration when deciding between cases. Another limitation that I would like to address is my use of the speech made from the U.N General Assembly meeting. The structure of the United Nations

places the Security Council in the position of power to establish resolutions. However, countries such as Poland, Italy, Australia, and Spain are not on the security council and were in a coalition with the United States during the Iraq war. Being that these states would not have been present at a Security Council meeting, it is assumed that they were addressed by the United States during the General Assembly Meeting. It is from that meeting that I argue that states such as these were persuaded to join in the U.S-led coalition because of the president's speech.

Another limitation I have is in regards to President Bush's NATO speech. In a more broad since the speech was presented in front NATO members as well as civilians. As described by the New York Times, the speech provided insight into President Bush's plan to enlarge NATO and add additional members while also addressing the concerns posed by the United States directed at the international community, however the speech in question was given at the NATO student summit that presented call to actions from leaders within the NATO community.⁴² The summit included 180 universities from 37 countries, as well as NATO member states and discussed the future of the Alliance. The speech is seen as an overview of President Bush's NATO initiatives. Lastly, the data I collected revolves around the limited military operations made known to the public. **Table 1** depicts the list of the main military interventions, and not the umbrella interventions that were happening in correlation of these main operations.

Chapter Four: Results

Depicted in **Table 4** are the single themes that were used in both speeches. The table also reveals that each speech focused on different themes. In Bush's address to the United Nations

⁴² "Bush Speech on NATO Enlargement", <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/11/21/international/bushs-speech-on-nato-enlargement.html>

General Assembly we see that he used more language relating to harm/care values, while in his NATO speech we see that he uses authority/respect language more frequently. Below I will discuss my results in greater detail.

Table 4 Speech themes

	Harm/Care	Ingroup/Loyalty	Authority/Respect	Sanctity/Purity	Fairness/Reciprocity
Bush U.N speech	59/146	19/146	24/146	4/146	2/146
Bush NATO speech	17/147	16/147	54/147	6/147	0/147

*The results for the U.N nations speech excludes 3 miscellaneous sentences that could not be grouped under any themes
The results for the NATO speech excludes 1 miscellaneous sentence that could not be grouped under any themes

United Nations speech single themes

In president Bush's speech, harm/care language accounted for 40% of the sentences in the transcript. As argued by political scientist Sarah Maxey, most U.S presidents use humanitarian explanations for military intervention.⁴³ When the president uses language that suggests there is suffering and human right violations overseas, they are more likely to get a response from the international community supporting intervention. It is up to the president to provide compelling humanitarian cases to their audience.⁴⁴ As was the case in President Bush's argument for why the United States and its allies needed to go should invade Iraq. Not only did President Bush use 9/11 as a rationale for entering war, he also made compelling arguments that focused on the humanitarian crisis unfolding in Iraq. As proven with my content analysis, harm/care rhetoric is a commonly used application in presidential speeches for seeking to build coalitions.

⁴³ Ibid, 681.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 693.

Bush's use of this theme was associated with the looming threat that undemocratic nations pose to the governance of the United Nations. The theme is connected to the consequences a population will face when they are not ruled by a democratic government. In his speech Bush states that ,

*“Last year, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights found that Iraq continues to commit extremely grave violations of human rights and that the regime’s repression is all-pervasive (37). Tens of thousands of political opponents and ordinary citizens have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, summary execution, and torture by beating and burning, electric shock, starvation, mutilation, and rape (38). Wives are tortured in front of their husbands, children in the presence of their parents, and all of these horrors concealed from the world by the apparatus of a totalitarian state (39)”.*⁴⁵

While Iraq was simply a headache for the United States government, Bush referenced the atrocities and human rights violations to generate international support to handle the Iraq problem together.

When authority/respect language was used president Bush associated it with legitimizing the ruling and decision-making process of the United Nations. This theme had the second highest level of frequency. Bush referred to the United Nations as an entity who is responsible for reinforcing rules. This was commonly used to describe the responsibilities of the organization and the steps it must take to ensure acceptance of their rules. Statements such as,

“The Security Council resolutions will be enforced, the just demands of peace and security will be met, or action will be unavoidable (126).⁴⁶ And a regime that has lost its legitimacy will also

⁴⁵ George W. Bush. “Address to the United Nations General Assembly”, transcript of speech delivered at the UN Headquarters, New York, NY, September 12, 2002, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/io/potusunga/207557.htm>

⁴⁶ Ibid.

lose its power (127)” and “By heritage and by choice, the United States of America will make that stand (144). And delegates to the United Nations, you have the power to make that stand as well (145)”

all reiterate Bush’s attempt to form a coalition through the use of authority/respect language as a means to establishing assigned leadership roles and duties.⁴⁷

The third theme with the highest frequency level is ingroup/loyalty. Bush associates this theme with collectivism and diplomacy. In Bush’s speech there are no openings for individualistic approaches nor working independently from the governing body. The collaboration between the United Nations and its member states requires the sharing of resources and viewpoints to achieve the same goal. In the speech Bush states,

“My Nation will work with the U.N. Security Council to meet our common challenge (122). If Iraq’s regime defies us again, the world must move deliberately, decisively to hold Iraq to account (123). We will work with the U.N. Security Council for the necessary resolutions (124). But the purposes of the United States should not be doubted (125).⁴⁸

This intuition highlights a major U.S foreign policy theme that has been a part of initiatives since World War II: partnership. With the incorporation of this theme Bush highlights how building an effective coalition requires “one mind” and the joining of powers.

Surprisingly, sanctity/purity and fairness/reciprocity were the least referenced in his speech. Given Bush’s evangelical background and domestic leadership style, I assumed that he

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ George Bush, “Remarks by the President of the United States, George W. Bush to NATO” transcript of speech delivered at the NATO summit, Prague, Czech Republic, November 20, 2002, <https://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2002/s021120b.htm>

would speak more on the inherent evilness of mankind, and discuss religious principles that guide his beliefs.

NATO speech single speech theme

Unlike in his U.N speech, President Bush opted for more authority/respect language when addressing members of NATO. Language using authority/respected accounted for 36% of the speech. Bush's use of authority/respect was mainly used when elaborating on the duties and responsibilities of the members. Authority/respect language was also used to acknowledge authoritative figures and deciding the course of action that needed to be taken to handle the situation in Iraq. For example towards the end of his speech Bush says,

“Few NATO members will have state-of-the-art capabilities in all of these areas; I recognize that(110). But every nation should develop some(111). Ours is a military alliance, and every member must make a military contribution to that alliance(112). For some allies, this will require higher defense spending(113). For all of us, it will require more effective defense spending, with each nation adding the tools and technologies to fight and win a new kind of war(114)”.⁴⁹

The primary focus for Bush was to discuss the obligation that each state had in maintaining the international order and cooperation is needed to advance shared interests. Moving onto another way authority/respect language was used was by acknowledging the leaders within the room. Bush spends an enormous time paying respect to members of the United Nations as well as members of his staff that were in attendance at the meeting. For instance during the beginning of his speech Bush recognizes the important figures when he says,

⁴⁹ Ibid.

*“ (4). We thank the Czech people and their leadership for working hard to make sure this summit is a successful summit, and we wish them all the very best(5). I want to thank Jimmy for his kind words. Really proud of Jimmy and we're proud to have him at West Point (6). He's a credit to the Academy, he's a credit to the people of Lithuania. And we wish him all the very best (7). I want to thank Alan Lee Williams, Antonio Bores Cavallo, for the tremendous work at the Atlantic Treaty Association (8). I'm grateful to Christopher Makins, who's the President of the Atlantic Council of the United States, for organizing this event (9). I want to thank Tom Dine, President of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, for joining us (10). I want to thank all the good folks who work there for joining us, as well (11). I appreciate your service (12) ”.*⁵⁰

Ingroup/loyalty was the second highest moral intuition used during Bush's NATO speech. In a similar style to his United Nations speech, President Bush often referred to group collaborations in order to advance U.S interests disguised as collective interests. President Bush often speaks as though all of the members are one, and have been experiencing the same feelings of uneasiness. Here is a brief excerpt from the speech that better explains this finding: *“And every new member of our Alliance makes a contribution of character(71). Tomorrow, NATO grows larger (72). Tomorrow, the soul of Europe grows stronger (73). Members recently added to NATO and those invited to join bring greater clarity to purposes of our Alliance, because they understand the lessons of the last century(74). ”*⁵¹

Harm/care was the third moral intuition that was frequently used. Bush uses harm/care language to associate democratic values with a better world. For Bush this language means that in order to advance human prosperity there needs to be an end to harsh dictatorships and human

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

suffering. Statements such as, “*Czechs and Slovaks learned through the harsh experience of 1938, that when great democracies fail to confront danger, greater dangers follow(77). And the people of the Baltics learned that aggression left unchecked by the great democracies can rob millions of their liberty and their lives(78)*” or “*For terrorists and terrorist states, every free nation -- every free nation -- is a potential target, including the free nations of Europe(87)*” expresses that without freedom and other democratic values, danger looms.⁵² Democratic values should be a collective interest for all parties involved to make the world better.

The last moral intuition that was used in Bush’s NATO speech revolved around sanctity/purity. This intuition was used the least. Bush uses sanctity/purity language to draw the line between good and evil. The evil he is referring to are NATO challengers who go against the status quo and reject democratic norms. When trying to appeal to his audience Bush states that, “*Those who have lived through a struggle of good against evil are never neutral between them(76)*”.⁵³ His placement of sanctity/purity language would often follow behind his statements reflecting ingroup/loyalty and before language used for harm/care.

Implications

The findings from these two speeches reveal that harm/care, authority/respect, ingroup/loyalty are among the most frequently used moral intuitions President Bush enlisted when trying to form a military coalition in to invade Iraq. Although the frequency of the intuitions used varies upon the setting. When speaking to members during the U.N General Assembly President Bush used more harm/care language, and when speaking to members in NATO he uses more authority/respect language. This could mean one of two things. First, the U.N’s purpose is to create stability internationally. It seeks to avoid conflicts, and to promote

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

peace throughout the world. Using language that displayed human suffering and endorsed the hope of a free world and civil liberties would appeal more to this audience than a NATO audience. Second, being that NATO's goal centers around security protecting its members states through political and military means, authority/respect language would be more appealing this particular audience than the U.N.

What is interesting about these results is that despite President Bush advancing his foreign policy initiative through the lens of shared interests, he does not frequently use language promoting collaboration, his speech appears to be hinting at justifying an already planned decision. Meeting before both organizations was just a formality.

Moving on to the overlapping themes presented in each speech. For both speeches the overlap of harm/care language and ingroup/loyalty language is most frequently used. Also for both speeches harm/care language was the intuition that was frequently paired with another intuition. **Table 5** displays that overlapping themes as well as their frequency. The overlapping themes that were already mentioned have an "X" placed in the box, while the overlapping themes that were not present have "0" placed in the box.

Table 5 Overlapping themes

	H.C/I L	H.C/A.R	H.C/F.R	H.C/S.P	I.L/H.C	I.L/A.R	I.L/F.R	I.L/S.P	A.R/H.C	A.R/I.L	A.R/F.R	A.R/S.P	F.R/H.C	F.R/I.L	F.R/A.R	F.R/S.P	S.P/H.C	S.P/I.L	S.P/A.R	S.P/F.R
U.N	29	2	0	3	X	0	1	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0	X	0	0	0	0
NATO	45	4	0	0	X	1	1	0	X	X	0	2	0	X	0	0	0	0	X	0

U.N speech overlapping themes

The most common themes that overlapped in president Bush's speech were harm/care and ingroup/loyalty. The integration of these themes were presented whenever the president pushed for a call to action to jointly handle the situation in Iraq. Through the use of harm/care and ingroup/loyalty rhetoric president Bush presented the case for international collaboration to

ensure the longevity of international peace and of the international organization itself. As described in the code descriptors as well as referenced in the definition of harm/care, human suffering is undesirable, and we must pursue ways to prevent that. As for ingroup/loyalty collaboration is encouraged and individualism is unfavorable. When presenting harm/care and ingroup/loyalty language to the audience it was presented in a way that showed that the established powers within the international community were facing a grave threat from a rogue nation. Bush's rhetoric sought a collaboration between the international powers while also requiring cooperation from the Iraqi government. To Bush, cooperation from the Iraqi government would mean partnership and collectivism. When advising the Iraqi government on steps that it could take to unite with the international community, Bush states that,

“If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will cease persecution of its civilian population, including Shi’a, Sunnis, Kurds, Turkomans, and others, again as required by Security Council resolutions (104). If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will release or account for all Gulf war personnel whose fate is still unknown (105). It will return the remains of any who are deceased, return stolen property, accept liability for losses resulting from the invasion of Kuwait, and fully cooperate with international efforts to resolve these issues, as required by Security Council resolutions (106).⁵⁴

If all these steps are taken, it will signal a new openness and accountability in Iraq (109). And it could open the prospect of the United Nations helping to build a government that represents all

⁵⁴ Ibid.

*Iraqis, a government based on respect for human rights, economic liberty, and internationally supervised elections (110).*⁵⁵

When Bush sought for the unification of international powers, harm/care and ingroup/loyalty Bush proclaims that,

*“... our greatest fear is that terrorists will find a shortcut to their mad ambitions when an outlaw regime supplies them with the technologies to kill on a massive scale(26). In one place—in one regime—we find all these dangers in their most lethal and aggressive forms, exactly the kind of aggressive threat the United Nations was born to confront (27) ”.*⁵⁶

When the overlapping of these two themes are presented in Bush’s speech they are associated with repercussions the international community will face if they are not actively pursuing the same objective, but it also presents rewards for compliance and solidarity.

NATO Overlapping themes

Similar to his U.N speech, President Bush frequently overlapped harm/care and ingroup/loyalty language. When describing the prosperity that follows behind the promotion of democracy, Bush would often use this to advance collaboration and merging powers together. Bush would make statements such as, *“We welcome the economic integration of Europe (50). We believe that integration will extend prosperity on both sides of the Atlantic (51). We welcome a democratic Russia as part of this new Europe, because a free and peaceful Europe will add to the security of this continent (52). We welcome the growing unity of Europe in commerce and currency and military cooperation, which is closing a long history of rivalry and violence (53) ”*

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

and, *“We're threatened by terrorism, bred within failed states, it's present within our own cities (85). We're threatened by the spread of chemical and biological and nuclear weapons which are produced by outlaw regimes and could be delivered either by missile or terrorist cell(86)”* to describe what the collective is up against and how it is only through collaboration that peace will sustain. Another way Bush used harm/care/ingroup/loyalty language was to establish an “us vs them” narrative. When Bush says, *“ We're freezing the assets of terror groups(91). We're pursuing the terrorists wherever they plot and train(92)”*, he’s associating terrorism with Iraq, even though Iraq had no part in the 9/11 attacks.⁵⁷ Bush is pursuing counterterrorist measures without pinpointing the terrorists in which he would like to pursue.

Another intuition that Bush overlapped with harm/care is authority/respect. When integrating these two themes together Bush discusses how international stability and peace relies on the nations enforcing and defending the organization’s values. In other words members have a duty to advance democratic values. This sentiment can be found in lines 125 and 126 where Bush states, *“International stability must be actively defended, and all nations that benefit from that stability have a duty to help(125). In this noble work, America and the strong democracies of Europe need each other, each playing our full and responsible role(126).”*⁵⁸

Other overlapping themes that were mentioned in Bush’s speech were: ingroup/loyalty & authority/respect; ingroup/loyalty & fairness/reciprocity; and authority/respect & sanctity/purity. Although these overlapping themes were only mentioned once or twice throughout the speech.

Implications

The implications for these findings suggests that when seeking to form a coalition, the president is more likely to overlap themes when appealing to his NATO audience. Unlike his

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

appeal towards the U.N audience President Bush used more language that incorporated overlapping themes. As discussed in previous sections, harm/care language revolves around human discomfort when others are subjected to suffering. When harm/care language was used in Bush's speech it implied the same thing, however Bush would often relate the easing of human suffering to the introduction of democracy and advancing democratic values. Seeing that harm/care & ingroup/loyalty were his most sought after intuitions when speaking it is safe to assume that when trying to form a coalition the president relied upon the shared notion that human suffering is unacceptable, and the only way to eliminate it is through collaborative efforts. The shared interests in this case are the discomfort of human suffering.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

My research finds that moral intuitions can be used as an explanation for how presidents are able to effectively push the idea of shared interests to form a military coalition. This study also reveals that the frequency of moral intuitions varies depending on the organization. The study suggests that the president is more likely to use harm/care language when addressing the United Nations, while he is more likely to use authority/respect when addressing NATO members. This can be explained because of the purpose of each organization. The United Nations prioritizes stability and aims to avoid conflict while NATO is mainly for military and political use.

Reaching across cultures requires employing universally accepted language that can appeal to everyone. The three major intuitions employed to build international coalitions were harm/care, ingroup/loyalty, and authority/respect. This paper analyzes the speeches of President George W. Bush as he addresses two different international organizational bodies. The results reveal that harm/care, ingroup/loyalty and respect/authority rhetoric is used across organizations.

However, the usage of the intuition varies across organizations. The moral intuition that were not used as much in both speeches were sanctity/purity and fairness/reciprocity. This could be the result of two things: 1) the international audience's response to religious jargon differs from that of the American audience that largely identifies as Christian, and it would not help with coalition building, or 2) addressing fairness and equality in a room with North-South inequalities will not advance coalition building.

As mentioned previously, this research paper does experience few limitations that will prevent myself from making a bold statement that these intuitions are used whenever the U.S president has to speak to the international community, because my research only examines how the president addresses the members of the United Nations and NATO. It would be interesting to see future studies examine how the president addresses other international organizations.

Future studies

For this research paper presidential rhetoric and how it is used to advance policy goals are the primary focus. For future research in this area, I would recommend that future studies include a wider range of samples to see the differences of presidential rhetoric overtime as the United States' foreign policy evolved into one of liberal hegemony which promotes collaboration and coalition building.

Today we are witnessing how the expression of shared values contributes to unifying states when seeking to advance U.S foreign policy goals with Russia's invasion of Ukraine. President Biden's continued campaign using features of moral intuitions to highlight shared values has contributed towards the joint action of sanctioning and public condemnation of Russian President Vladimir Putin. Taking into account the qualifications posed by previous

scholars, the behavior between the United States and other states are paving the way for a military coalition.

International organizations have publicly condemned Russia, states within close proximity to Russia have also allied with the United States and political incentives such as upholding U.S alliances has allowed for the EU and other bordering states to prioritize a U.S alliance over compliance towards Russia who contributes a great deal of oil. Future studies may analyze recent events such as Russia's invasion of Ukraine and examine how presidential rhetoric was useful in getting powerful states within the European Union and around the world to collectively condemn Russia's behavior and roll out sanctions. Other forms of coalitions should also be addressed as well.

Overall, this area of research serves to expand upon how we view coalition building and how shared interests can be expressed fully with the use of moral intuitions. This paper reveals that presidential rhetoric is a strategy that can be employed to strengthen the argument of shared values as a reason for how the United States frames the need to form a coalition. Future studies can build off of this framework to analyze other organizations such as APEC and OAS and expand the sample of U.S presidents to study how president rhetoric incorporates aspects of the moral foundation theory.

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