

MESSAGES IN OPPOSITION: AN EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE ON
ELITES' USE OF DISCOURSE DURING WAR

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MESSAGES IN OPPOSITION: AN EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE

ON ELITES' USE OF DISCOURSE DURING WAR

Abstract

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Organized conflicts in state-level societies are cooperative ventures. In attempting to sway popular opinion to support or oppose conflicts, elites use media broadcasts to influence behavior. This paper proposes that media transmissions are simply a technological extension of the signals used by all animals. Under signaling theory (as defined by behavior ecology), elites, then, would be expected to broadcast signals tied to survival, fertility, resources, and predatory threats. Media messages, from this viewpoint, are elite's attempt to solicit support through the use of discourse tied to fitness interests. The primary question to be answered in this analysis is: do elites use images tied to fitness interests to influence the population? While behavioral ecology predicts that honest signals should be selected for as they have the greatest impact on the receiver's fitness, human language allows elites to circumvent honest signals through messages containing multiple meanings that allow the receiver to interpret the message from their own perspective. A second line of inquiry asks, are messages from elites ambiguous? To test predictions developed from these inquiries, a cross-cultural sample of 116 transcripts of speeches and prepared remarks concerning the current conflict in Iraq and the Vietnam War are examined using content analysis. While linear regression cannot validate several of the predictions, the

analysis reveals that youth opposed to war used images tied to fitness interests in survival. This is expected as the direct participation of young men in war is a threat to their reproductive fitness. Following the test of the predictions an exploratory analysis on the inquiries reveals that elites' use of ambiguous discourse tied to fitness interests is dependent on their sociopolitical position and sociopolitical context (with war approval ratings and age of the presenter best the predictors). In summary, through the manipulation of signals, their power position, and their ability to control language, elites can manipulate the behavior of a population to support the interests of elites.

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Dedication

You lived through the horror of one world war and the occupation that followed.
Your husband lived through that war and another that was to stem the tide of Communism.
You were then asked to send four of your boys to war.
Three went to the eastern jungles. One went to the deserts in the west.

Mother, this thesis is dedicated to you.
I hope that this paper might explain how the elites in power
manipulate parents, convincing them to send their sons to fight the elites' battles.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Organized conflicts in state-level societies are cooperative ventures. In attempting to sway popular opinion to support or oppose conflicts, elites use media broadcasts to influence behavior. This paper proposes that media transmissions are simply a technological extension of the signals used by all animals. Under signaling theory (as defined by behavior ecology), elites, then, would be expected to broadcast signals tied to survival, fertility, resources, and predatory threats. Media messages, from this viewpoint, are elite's attempt to solicit support through the use of discourse tied to fitness interests. Elites control the media, and thereby society, through economic position and status. This control is articulated through the ability of discourse to manipulate the behavior of others through the unique capabilities of human language – theory of mind and ambiguity. Human language, though, allows messages that contain multiple meanings, permitting the receiver to interpret the message within his or her own preferences. These capabilities are the result of our evolutionary trajectory in primate signaling and unique linguistic characteristics that help to maintain large social structures for behaviorally modern human. Language and the media, then, are tools that elites use to manipulate populations via ambiguous signals tied to fitness interests.

From the perspective of behavioral signaling, elite power structures, and linguistics, the primary question to be answered in this analysis is do elites use discourse tied to fitness interests, within context of their position on the war, to influence the population? For example, it is expected that elites supporting the war should emphasize survival and sovereignty of the society – thus protecting their power position. Conversely, those opposed should stress the lives of their

sons, brothers, husbands and fathers, as they are a direct influence on the speaker's fitness. Also, do elites use messages that are ambiguous? It would be expected, then, that ambiguous messages would sponsor support from larger audiences.

To substantiate these inquiries, transcribed speeches from a cross-cultural sample of elites concerning the Vietnam War and the current conflict in Iraq, are quantified and analyzed through text analysis. These two wars were selected because they represent conflicts that polarized global populations. Preemptive in nature, these wars provide a broad range of discourse supporting and opposing the action by international audiences. Even in the face of progressively divergent goals and declining popular support, the managing elites increasingly had to justify their decisions for continued economic and military aid to international audiences.

Content analysis of the messages used in these wars provides the opportunity to test the above predictions. This methodology works under the premise that messages contain signs indicating the intentions and motivations of the signaler. By definition, content analysis conducts a "the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics" that includes the "careful examination of human interaction" (Neuendorf 2002:1). Content analysis attempts to quantify who (level of communication) is saying what (effects) to whom (audience) through which channel (media content) (Shoemaker and Reese 1996:2). It affords an opportunity to quantify the behavior and motivations the speaker. The challenge for this study is in the interpretation of data in evolutionary terms of fitness interests, signaling theory, human's unique linguist ability, and the power structures of elites.

Is This Topic Really Anthropology?

The nature of the topic (the analysis of political discourse) leads to the impression that this research is based in political theory. While the data might be founded in political discourse,

the theoretical underpinnings in anthropological and evolutionary theories on linguistics, signaling and elite power-scales. As political science has been “reluctant to adopt theories and methodologies developed in fields studying human behavior from an evolutionary standpoint” (Tingley 2007:23), this discussion specifically avoids political theories concerning communication and international relations. While political science does discuss and model human behavior within the context of rational choice, competition, and cooperation, it has not addressed behavior as it is sponsored by reproductive success. Or as, as political scientists John R. Alford and John R. Hibbing note, “If political scientists believe, with Darwin, that genetics influences social attitudes and behavior, it is not evident in their research. Certainly no recent article in a leading political science journal has used genetics as an independent variable” (2004:712). Political science uses the hypotheses generated by anthropology, and more specifically human behavioral ecology, to understand the nature of its human subjects, but it divorces itself from the empirical testing (Masters 1989:xi). So, political science is focused on the evolution of platforms and policy through an understanding of human behavior. Anthropology, on the other hand, is focused on understanding human behavior through the empirical methods of observation and hypothesis testing.

This paper is not an attempt to understand the political platforms of the elites. Rather it is an attempt to understand how elites use power structures and discourse to manipulate public opinion – a topic based on anthropological theories on human behavior and linguistics rather than public policy. This paper is evolutionary as it looks to test the hypothesis that elites manipulate the behavior of others through broadcasted signals tied to fitness interests.

So is the use of content analysis really anthropology? Yes, because it seeks to explain behavior, cross-culturally, through the lens of transcribed dialogue. The methodology of content

analysis is not without precedent in anthropology. Franz Boas, produced some 5,000 pages of qualitative analysis based on 4,000 pages of translations from George Hunt's descriptions of Kwakiutl traditions (Bernard 2002:442). This work differs in that it views dialogue from a neo-Darwinian perspective – utilizing a quantitative rather than a qualitative approach. This topic realizes importance through its use of a tool underrepresented in anthropology, content analysis, and in that it analyzes a dataset that is often accessed by other social sciences but rarely by the anthropologist. Finally this paper provides novel predictions from a neo-Darwinian perspective.

The Power Structures of Elites

The elites' influence comes not just from their ability to broadcast messages, but also from the power of their position. John Bodley defines elites as those individuals at the top of any social-power scale or hierarchy (1999:596). Elites' influence, then, encompasses more than just political authority and “can be applied to any measurable power in a society” (Bodley 1999:616). As the sociologist Michael Mann points out, the power of elites is based on the ability to “shape and influence” others – thereby achieving goals through cooperation (1986:5). Elites use the advantage of their power position to coordinate and solicit cooperation for their goals.

Mann also puts forward that the power structures of society originate from four overlapping sources: ideology, economic, military and political (1986:2). Bodley expands on Mann and proposes that elites distribute power through domestic kinships, political authority and economic management (1999:599). Within state-level societies, social power is distributed nearly equally among commercial and political elites (Bodley 1998:7). These forms of social power are not equal in the modern global economy, as commercial social power has the ability to buy political power (Bodley 2002:23; Bodley 1999:600; Chomsky 2002:18-19). Elite social

power is not distributed equally, but is networked so that power structures overlap, aligning the population into hierarchal arrangements (personal communication John Bodley, November 2005). The social power of elites is not limited to the social and economic dimension of their power, but by their ability (and the cost) to influence others outside their hierarchy. Or as Niccolo Machiavelli notes, “It is the nature of men to be as much bound by the benefits that they confer, as by those they receive” (1952[1532]:68). The power of elites crosses hierarchal boundaries through reciprocation between elites.

Most importantly, “elites will invent and promote new cultural processes to increase their social power and also appropriate earlier processes” (Bodley 1999:601). Of significance is the appropriation of language and media broadcasts by elites. From a linguistic perspective “the power to make language and through it meaning has been vested in one powerful group... for so long and so totally, that that perception became a transparent lens through which we viewed “reality”” (Lakoff 2000:19). As linguist Noam Chomsky notes, political elites have historically attempted to “control the thoughts” of the intelligentsia and economic elites through propaganda, thereby manipulating the population in total (Chomsky 2002:13). So, language creates reality and those that control language – the elites – shape that reality.

Control over language allows elites to “persuade people that the elite view of the world is natural, inevitable, and irresistible” (Bodley 2002:99). The power of elites through language is based on inequality, they have access to the cultural process and those downscale from them do not. Elites will not freely relinquish this power to those down the social pecking order (McChesney 1999:285). Language, then, is “used to request changes to the benefit of one party in an exchange between unequals” (Masters 1989:105).

In modern society, the key to this power-play is the control of the media. As the elites control the economy, and the economy dictates the revenue for broadcast media, there is little challenge to the elites' dominance of the discourse (Chomsky 2002:29). Or, as communication researcher Robert McChesney notes, "The corporate media cement a system whereby the wealthy and powerful few make the most important decisions with virtually no informed public participation" (1999:281). What the media most often represents is the conservative values of its owners (McChesney 1999:113). Importantly, the conservative nature of corporate media is influenced not just by the values of its owners, but also by the need to generate profits (Herman and Chomsky (2002:5). The media must cater to the suppliers of information – the social, economic and political elites – and also to the consumer capitalists who are their revenue stream (Herman and Chomsky 2002:2). Control of the media is not limited to the Industrialized West. It is a cross-cultural phenomenon that can be tied to "global capitalist political economy" (McChesney 1999:80-81). The elites control the media politically through the information they provide, economically through ownership, and financially through advertising revenue.

From their position of social, economic and political power, elites have the ability to control the discourse and its expression through the mass media. This control provides them the ability to influence and persuade the population to cooperate and form coalitions for a common goal – one in the interest of the elite. The cooperation sponsored by the elite is then one of a self-interest that is realized by the elites.

Coalitional Violence and Coalitional Formation

Some of the most original work regarding coalitional formation during war has come from evolutionary psychologists John Tooby and Leda Cosmides. They observed, "war is

dangerous and costly, and even where it is not mutually injurious or lethal to the participants, it is difficult to see why any sane organism, selected to survive and genetically propagate, should seek so actively to create conditions of such remarkable personal cost and danger” (1988:1).

Addressing this conundrum, they propose that war is adaptive when it provides a resource advantage to oneself or kin. The decision for battle is thus associated with a cost-benefit analysis which itself is tied to reproductive fitness versus the risk of death (Buss 1999:300). But why would any individual risk the ultimate failure, death, for an unknown return without guarantee?

Tooby and Cosmides propose a “risk contract” of four essential conditions that motivate an individual to join a conflict:

- (1) “Certainty of victory”,
- (2) “The assurance of a random distribution of risk of death among participants”,
- (3) “The assurance of a relatively ‘fair’ allocation of the benefits of victory”,
- (4) “Efficiency in the utilization of reproductive resources on a zero-sum basis, selection will favor participation in the coalitional aggression regardless of the existence or even the level of mortality (within broad limits)” (1988:6).

Viewing organized conflict as collaborative, Tooby and Cosmides predict that warfare is a problem of cooperation driven by self-interest (1988:4) that is sponsored by differential reproductive success (Patton 1996:6-7). The differential reproductive success of an individual will be tied to resources, reproductive fitness, status, or dominance hierarchies (Chagnon 1988:989-990; Thorpe 2003:147). Warfare, then, is a “form of enlightened self-interest” where short-term increases in prestige provide long-term mating opportunities (Patton 1996:7).

But for aggression to be group sanctioned, individuals must agree that the potential rewards outweigh the costs. As Napoleon Chagnon has observed, “the risks are high and men are willing to take them in proportion to the amount of mutual support they receive from comrades and where unwillingness to do so is condemned and ridiculed” (1988:989). An individual’s ability to kill does not necessarily provide him access to mates; status provides him

access to mates. Status is not based solely on fighting aptitude, but also on one's "ability to cooperate and to fulfill social functions" (UNESCO 1992). An individual's ability as a warrior must be tied to group interest (Patton 1999). As Colonel Lawrence Chamberlain explains in Michael Shaara's *The Killer Angels*, "I never saw dirt I'd die for, but I'm not asking you to come join us and fight for dirt. What we're all fighting for, in the end, is each other" (1992:30).

Warfare requires the ability to motivate a population towards a cooperative effort of aggression.

Elites can sponsor the cooperative effort required for war through signals that indicate fitness gains for the individual participants. The power of elites to manipulate behavior comes from the unique capability of human language to transmit complex thought. This ability results in larger social structures, which in turn, requires greater coordination efforts. Individuals who are better at coordinating and manipulating the behavior of populations gain status and thereby reproductive success.

The Mechanism for Coalitional Formation – Human Language

Forming coalitions involves communicating the risk and return of the proposed action. Human language has a distinct advantage over other forms of primate communications with regard to communicating risk and return. Though there is a functional correspondence between the shared primitive characteristics of lexical ability (naming objects) and simple syntax (meaningful combining of words) in hominoids, the ability for human-like "speech production" could be the "primary derived characteristic" of communication within hominids (Lieberman 2002:53-54). This trait allows humans "to produce our concise, highly flexible, symbolically based means of communication" (MacLarnon and Hewitt 2004:181). Though contested at times, it is difficult to deny that humans appear to be unique among mammals in their ability to process

“continuous, information-rich stream of speech” (Pinker and Jackendoff 2005:207). Within the highly social hominid lineage, any increase in the ability to transmit information is a significant adaptive advantage to individuals in coalition formation and maintenance (Jackendoff 1999:272).

Speech for behaviorally modern humans inherently provides “the ability for vocal imitation, the ability to memorize vast amounts of information (both needed for learning words), the desire to communicate, the understanding of others' intentions and beliefs, and the ability to cooperate” (Jackendoff 2006:2). Thus, human language facilitates self-recognition and the theory of mind (Shettleworth 1998:565). Or, “Language is the transference of meaning from mind to mind” (Lakoff 2000:9). A theory of mind aids the receiver in predicting the behavior and motivations of the signaler. That is, “language is about mapping sentences to meaning, and theory of mind is about mapping social/behavioral contexts onto other's behavior” (Dominey 2004). Anne Reboul proposes that the mind-reading capabilities of behaviorally modern humans might have coevolved with increased linguistic abilities (2004). David Buss notes that individuals who are better at interpreting the “desires and beliefs” of others gain differential reproductive success (1999:390). So, language and theory of mind are interconnected and possibly co-evolved in their ability to impose one’s thoughts onto another’s mind.

Through the interrelatedness of language and theory of mind, humans can express not only their feelings and observations, but also their thoughts, hopes and intuitions. This shift toward modern human language allows communication to be “explicitly detailed and transcendent of single contexts” (Hymes 1987:29). Or, as Goody and Watts remark, human prehistory began when man biologically evolved into a “language-using animal” (1987:311). Complex language, thus, provides humans the unique ability to speak their mind beyond the context of most other species and in a way that facilitates understanding other’s motivations.

This unique linguistic capability is essential for cooperation and cohesion within the large and complex social organizations of *Homo sapiens* (Aeolli and Dunbar 1993; Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman 1983; Christiansen and Kirby 2003; Seyfarth and Cheney 2005; Taylor Parker 1985). Language provides “collective insight,” a primary requirement for the collaborative solutions associated with group living (Lieberman 2002:53). In addition, Mike Alvard and David Nolin note, “coordination solutions require a cultural mechanism of informational transfer to provide players the shared expectations crucial for coordinating behavior” (2002:548). Though true that other primates can form coalitions; humans manage populations in the thousands and millions. In comparison, the next largest primate social group, Gelada baboons, have populations in the hundreds (Aiello and Dunbar 1993:185-187). The ability to manage groups exponentially larger than other primates is a result of the increased language capabilities of modern humans.

Social living, then, is tied to the unique linguistic capabilities of behaviorally modern humans that allows increased information transfer through higher signaling rates and a greater return in comprehension by the receiver (Boyd and Richerdson 2005:5). The key to coalition formation in modern humans is both the quantity of information and quality of the information provided. The advantage of cooperative behavior is that larger coalitions tend to defeat those that are smaller or fragmented in conflicts over land, food or other resources (Boyd and Richerson 2006:456). It is the both the quantity and quality of the signal that provides a means for individuals to manipulate the behavior of a population without the use of physical force.

Human Language and Signaling Fitness Interests

In behavioral ecology, communication is “the act of making use of another’s muscles” (Dawkins and Krebs 1978:283). Specifically, communication is a signaler’s attempt to actively

manipulate the receiver's behavior (Dawkins and Krebs 1978:283; Krebs and Davies 1993:349; Shettleworth 1998:527; Tomasello and Call 1997:232) through signals that indicate the signaler's quality to potential mates, competitors, and threats (Krebs and Davies 1993:369; Krebs and Davies 1997:149; Shettleworth 1998:531). Human signals, though, convey not only messages concerning genetic quality, environment, resources and threats (Krebs and Davies 1993:369), but also provide crucial information regarding the past and future in the context of quality and quantity of an object – thus becoming a vehicle for individual cooperation (Dawkins and Krebs 1978:286-289). Selection thus favors signals whose content sponsors a response.

The context of a signal is also a factor for selection. That is, signals must efficiently and effectively overcome noise (competitors' signals and irrelevant stimuli) and environmental obstacles. Noise is overcome through ritualized signals (stereotyped, repetitive, and exaggerated) that reduce the ambiguity of the message by providing a consistent and reliable message (Dawkins and Krebs 1978:286; Jolly 1972:145; Johnstone 1997:156-158; Krebs and Davies 1993:361; Wiley 1983:163-165). For example, a signal's intensity (through exaggeration) should increase in order to remain conspicuous when competition is high (Johnstone 1997:162; Wiley 1983:163). Signals are also under environmental pressures that select for the medium (auditory, chemical, tactile, or visual), which provides the greatest clarity to the receiver for the least cost to the signaler (Krebs and Davies 1993:350, see Figure 1.1). The intensity or reliability of a response to a message is thus influenced by a signal's visual brightness, volume, or size (Shettleworth 1998:58). So the method that produces a signal is as important as the message itself. A question can be raised: if the type and intensity of signal used are context dependent, do supporting and opposing elites use signals equally and in the same context with regard to reproduction, resources or threats? That is, if signals are selected because

of their ability to cut through noise and ecological obstacles, would messages be sculpted in such a way to reach the targeted population within the context of the sociopolitical environment?

FIGURE 1.1: Messages Medium as an Influence on Signal Effectiveness. NOTE: The ++ indicates a signal is highly effective. The + indicates that a signal is moderately effective. The (-) indicates that a signal is not effective. N/A indicates that a signal is not applicable.

Signal Effectiveness as Dependent on Medium				
Channel Feature	Chemical	Auditory	Visual	Tactile
<i>Range</i>	++	++	+	(-)
<i>Rate of Change for Sign</i>	(-)	++	++	++
<i>Ability to Bypass Obstacles</i>	+	+	(-)	(-)
<i>Indicates Signaler's Location</i>	N/A	+	++	++
<i>Energetic Cost</i>	Low	High	Low	Low
Pluses : Minuses	3:1	6:0	5:1	4:2

(Derived from Krebs and Davies 1993:350)

But while the active agent in signaling is the signaler, the receiver does not passively respond to all signals. Individuals who are better at communicating should have a selective advantage (Boyd and Richerson 2006:466; Dawkins and Krebs 1978:288); likewise, selection should also favor the receiver who can accurately deduce the nature and intentions of the signaler (Johnstone 1997:155). Just as a signaler attempts to manipulate the receiver's behavior, the receiver interprets the signal for information regarding the physiology or motivations of the signaler – with selection favoring the more astute receivers (Johnstone 1997:164; Wiley 1983:170). Given that signals are tied to both the signaler's and receiver's reproductive fitness, it is expected that the former should provide messages that are honest, reliable, and unambiguous (Dawkins and Krebs 1978:288, Krebs and Davies 1993:367). Signals that are dishonest or

ambiguous would not benefit the receiver's reproductive success, and, in time, natural selection should select for those individuals with better counter measures (Smith et al. 2003:122). For intraspecific deceit to be successful it must fulfill four criteria: (1) it must be relatively rare to the point that the receiver has not been preconditioned, (2) it must solicit trust to avoid cheater detection, (3) it is limited by the physical constraints of the signaler, (4) and it must realize a net strategic benefit to the signaler (Dawkins and Krebs 1978:303, Johnstone 1997:166). Deceit must be rare because if deceit were to reach fixation in a population, it would lose its selective advantage (Dawkins and Krebs 1978:304). If signals are dishonest (such as looking or behaving dominant) the expected phenotype would not be represented and the signaler would be discounted or punished for deception (Krebs and Davies 1993:171). In other words, "A good reputation can become easily tarnished, but a bad reputation is difficult to overcome" (Cook et al. 2005: 30). So, deceptive signals can favor the signaler to a limited, time-restricted extent. Accordingly, Richard Dawkins and Nicholas Krebs observe, "bluff and deceit are always advantageous" but are limited by distrust and inquiry (1978:304). Thus, "trust is [only] unproblematic in a world in which everyone is trustworthy" (Cook et al. 2005:5).

Noting that deception should not be a stable strategy given the mechanisms balanced against it and the counter-adaptations that should occur within the receiving populations, Dawkins has proposed an "arms race" where the signalers are selected for displays of increasing signal intensity and the receivers are selected for "sales resistance" to deceptive signals (Dawkins 1999:55). This dichotomy can result in a co-evolutionary dynamic between the resistance of the receiver and the manipulative powers of the signaler (Krebs and Davies 1993:365). While this co-evolution seems balanced, selection is dependent on the intensity of the signaler's display versus the receiver's resistance – in essence it is about who has the most to

lose, is this about “my life or your dinner” (Dawkins 1999:65-67). If a receiver’s life is at stake, selection should favor those individuals in the population who are counter-adapted to the manipulative power of the signaler.

Deceptive Signals

If deception is supposed to be rare, why is it seen in primates? The answer is that deception, whether intentional “disinformation” or unintentional “misinformation” (Caddell 2004:1), increases the fitness of the signaler at the expense of the receiver. As deception only benefits the signaler, it is essentially forced altruism (Dawkins 1999:57). Whether tied to reproduction, resources, or threats, deceptive signals overstate the benefit to the receiver in order to facilitate a cooperative effort that will only profit the signaler. For elites, deceptive signals can hide intentions and provide false motivations to an ignorant population.

Deception, then, is the signaler’s attempt to influence the receiver’s behavior through manipulation of the information provided. Sharing information, in contrast, should facilitate cooperation (Dawkins and Krebs 1978:309). Signals not only reduce uncertainty about the signaler’s intentions, but in human language provide the *when* and *something* to the message (Dawkins and Krebs 1978, Krebs and Davies 1993:370). While increased information transfer can stimulate cooperation, increased information does not guarantee cooperation (Dawkins and Krebs 1978:289, Krebs and Davies 1993:128). Indeed, this boost in communication also provides a “tremendous increase” in the ability to circulate inaccurate information (Cheney and Seyfarth 1990:184). Or as Anne Reboul notes, “the evolution of a language acquisition device allowed the emergence of language and linguistic communication that respectively allowed the development of a full-blown [Theory of Mind] and of deception” (Reboul 2004). So, while the

increased flexibility and complexity of human language facilitates the transfer of information, they also amplify the ability to deceive.

Crawford and Ambiguity

As the intentions and motivations of the signaler are not always apparent in humans, there is a need for “pre-game” intelligence to ascertain if the signal is deceptive. This pre-game intelligence can be realized in the initial interaction through nonbinding “cheap talk” (Crawford 1990:213; Crawford 1998:287). Cheap talk is a low cost, low risk form of signaling, utilized to ascertain the intentions of the signaler prior to commitment by the receiver. Cheap talk alone will not typically sponsor cooperation (Crawford 1990:216), but it can initiate communication that may sponsor cooperation. If the competitors’ goals coincide, the information within the cheap talk should become increasingly more accurate, providing greater value and information to the receiver (Crawford and Sobel 1982:1450).

If the goals of the parties do not directly coincide, but are not divergent, the best strategy would be to send informative, but intentionally ambiguous, signals (Crawford 1998:288). These ambiguous signals would allow the signaler to gauge the receiver’s responsiveness and motivations, without forcing a full assessment of the signaler’s potential. Deception occurs, then, through costless messages (Crawford and Sobel 1982:1450, Crawford 2003:145) that limit the risk of the receiver probing for more information. So, if the elites’ goals are not congruent with the audiences’, deception is the misrepresentation of information through vagueness.

If two individuals’ positions or goals are opposed, information provided during cheap talk should be gradually discounted until it is obvious that the participants are strategically in

conflict. Any future signals become babble and provide no information to the receiver (Crawford 1998:287). These reduced signals become noise that other signalers must overcome.

Deception is most likely to occur when the signaler's and receiver's goals are divergent, but not opposed. Human deception occurs, then, when the signaler takes advantage of ambiguous signals to avoid cheater detection and the risks of punishment. These messages play upon human Theory of Mind, allowing the receiver to interpret the signal within their own preferences, or, as Ursula Le Guin notes, "Truth is a matter of the imagination" (1976:1). Thus, ambiguity, as a means of limiting negative response, has the potential to be a powerful mechanism for communications between elites and the populace.

The last question is this: are the messages of the supporting and opposing elites honest, reliable and unambiguous? Or, in attempting to manipulate opinion does the imagery used in these manipulative messages intentionally contain multiple meanings so that the receiver may interpret the message according to his / her own preferences? These cheapened signals can hide the motivations of the signaler, reducing the receiver's ability to detect cheaters and to punish.

Inquiries and Predictions: How Populations Are Manipulated

From the foundation that populations are controlled through the power structures of elites, the unique characteristics of human language, and the manipulation by signals as defined by behavioral ecology; the following predictions are proposed for analysis: (1) Do the elites in support of and those opposed to a war use images tied to fitness interests to influence segments of the population? As behavioral ecology notes, signals tied to fitness should have the greatest impact on the receiver. (2) If the images are tied to reproductive fitness, do elites use signals equally and in the same context with regard to reproduction, resources and threats? As the elites

represent different ecologic (sociopolitical) niches, it is expected that their signals would differ depending on the audience and noise they had to overcome. As environment changes (falling war approval), we would expect to see changes in the strategies utilized by the signaler. (3) In attempting to manipulate opinion do elites' messages intentionally contain multiple meanings (ambiguity) so that the receiver may interpret the message within their own preferences?

From these inquires the following predictions will be tested. As discourse should be tied to fitness interests, it is predicted that those opposed to the war will use images tied to survival (sponsoring their direct reproductive fitness), while supporters will use images tied to resources, ensuring their power positions. More specifically, it is proposed that youth opposed to the conflict will use discourse tied to survival as their fitness interests are at stake with their participation in the conflict.

As the context of the message determines the medium and intensity of the signal, it is proposed that war approval ratings represent the noise and environmental obstacles that must be overcome by the signaler. If war approval ratings are high, the elites opposed to the conflict will increase the intensity of their signal through the use of discourse tied to survival. Conversely, if the war approval ratings are low, the supporters will use signals tied to resources.

Finally, the use of deception is dependent on the goals of the receiver and signaler. Smaller audiences (e.g. political rallies) are more likely to have goals similar to the signaler. Larger audiences (e.g. global broadcasts) will have a greater range of goals. In this analysis, deception should be used when addressing larger audiences – whose goals represent a greater variety of interests. As war approval ratings also indicate a divergence in goals, it is predicted that ambiguity should be used by those opposed to the conflict when the ratings are high. When the ratings are low, the supporters for the conflict should use ambiguous messages.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS

Working under the premise that messages can hint at the intentions and motivations of the signaler, content analysis allows the researcher to “infer things about phenomena that are less open and visible” about the speaker and the position they represent (Shoemaker and Reese 1996:27). By definition this analysis occurs through “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics” (Neuendorf 2002:1). Content analysis is a reliable technique for “(1) reducing the symbol-laden artifacts produced by human behavior (including, but not limited to texts) to a unit-by-variable matrix and (2) analyzing that matrix quantitatively in order to test hypotheses” (Bernard and Ryan 1998:611). As part of the positivist tradition, content analysis reduces text into “codes that represent themes or concepts” that can be statistically analyzed against novel predictions (Bernard and Ryan 1998:596).

Content analysis provides the means for quantifying elites’ discourse as well as the methodology for acquiring and reducing the data. Embedded within content analysis is a methodology for acquisition and analysis of the data and the variables that will be correlated through regression techniques. The methodology of content analysis provides the how-to and the what-to analyze of this paper. The methods and acquisition of data cannot be teased apart.

Before moving on it is important to repeat that the Vietnam and Iraq Wars were selected because they represent conflicts that polarized populations. In discussing the predictions, it was pointed out that from the perspective of a social scientist what might be of greater interest is the juxtaposed positions of support and opposition to war (personal communication with Kevin Smyth, November 2006). Preemptive in nature, these wars provide a broad range of discourse

supporting and opposing the action from both national and international audiences. This broad audience provides an opportunity to view the discourse from a cross-cultural perspective. These two wars were also chosen because they support the exclusive use of transcribed speeches, interviews, and prepared remarks that were recorded or digitized. This technique reduces potential biases introduced through third party interpretations that could occur using pre-recorded historical texts (personal communication, Karen Lupo, fall 2006). Finally, even in the face of progressively divergent goals and declining popular support, the managing political elites continued to pour in economic and military aid, justifying their decisions via media messages resulting in opposing discourse from an international audience. The individual speeches were chosen based on the requirement of random sampling techniques listed below.

Methodology Behind Content Analysis

The reduction approach for the quantitative analysis of content requires that the text to be divided into “units of content” which provide boundaries to the study and informational units (Riffe et al. 2005:68). While some analysts might partition speeches into multiple units of analysis to better understand how they form (Krippendorff 2004:98), the position of the individual speaker is often the unit of data collection and analysis (Neuendorf 2002:13). As this analysis is concerned with the imagery used by the speaker, it considers each speech as a unit of analysis.

This study represents a treatment in “mass messaging” analysis as it deals with messages that have been “intended for a relatively large, undifferentiated audience” (Neuendorf 2002:17-22). Shoemaker and Reese note that mass media is often the “pipe or conduit through which bits of information flow – neutral transmitters of messages, linking senders and receivers” (1996:33). With mass messaging, it is the position that the speaker represents (support or oppose and

invader or invaded) that presents insight into the analysis. These measures seem particularly relevant as the position of individual speakers is often representative of a “party line” (personal communication, Courtney Meehan, fall 2006).

Finally, as the objective of this paper is to measure the latent characteristics of messages as they reflect fitness interests, a thematic approach focusing on images tied to life and survival, resources and threats is used. Within this analysis words such as “kill,” “death,” and “our boys” are considered direct indicators of survival or life (LIFE). Words such as “oil,” “land,” and “rice” are considered indicators of resources or economy (RESOURCES). Finally, “aggressive,” “missiles,” and “war” are considered indicators of threats or aggression (THREAT).

The Process of Content Analysis

The procedures for content analysis have been well documented by a numerous authors from a variety of disciplines. Cited in over 700 scholarly works listed in the ISI Web of Knowledge, Klaus Krippendorff’s work (2004) is clearly the seminal instruction for content analysis. The work of Daniel Riffe, Steve Lacey, and Fred Fico (2005) represents another important source – closely targeting this topic – and providing a concise summary on conducting content analysis (2005:55). Finally, H. Russell Bernard provides a methodology that is closely in line with anthropological theory (1998:613-618). Kimberly A. Neuendorf (2002:53-54), though, supplies the most lucid, clear-cut, and systematic process for conducting content analysis (see Figure 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 – Appendix).

The hypothesis and rationale for this study (Step 1 of Neuendorf’s process, Figure 2.1.1 – Appendix) is that the discourse used by elites should employ latent characteristics tied to survival and reproduction, resources, and predator threats. That is the imagery used by elites’ signals

should be tied to fitness interests. Also, these signals should convey multiple meanings that hide the signaler’s intentions and allow elites to circumvent honest signals by maintaining a range of alternative interpretations.

Conceptualizing these factors (Stage 2), the predictor variables for this analysis are drawn from the positions of the signaler, the sociopolitical environment, and the timing of the event (see Table 2.1). If a presenter does not call for an end to the hostilities he is considered to be supporting the war. A presenter is always considered in opposition to the conflict if he / she is a native of the invaded country. While the invaded might call for violence, this aggression is predicated on opposition to the occupation of their territory. So, though Saddam Hussein called on his people to fight for victory, it was for victory to oppose the invaders. In cases where the day and month could not be determined, January 1st was used as the default date. Finally, the age of the presenter was excluded if in question because of anonymity.

TABLE 2.1: Defining the Predictor Variables

Predictor Variable	Values	Definition
Ideological Position (D1 SUPPORT)	Support = 1 Oppose = 0	Does the presenter support or oppose the invasion or occupation of the second country?
National Position (D1 INVADER)	Invader = 1 Invaded = 0 Noncombatant = 0	Is the presenter a national of the invading or invaded country or a noncombatant multinational or national?
<i>Selection Variable</i> – Overall Position (D2 INVD SPRT)	Invader Support = 2 Invader Oppose = 1 Invaded = 0 Noncombatant = 0	Does the presenter support or oppose the invasion or occupation of the second country? Is the presenter a national of the invading or invaded country or a noncombatant multinational or national?
Medium (D2 GLOBAL)	Local = 0 Regional = 1 Global = 2	Ecology dictates a signal’s medium (see Figure 1.1). Local signals are when the speaker is directly observable by the audience – rallies. Regional signals are when the speaker accesses a national or regional audience – print or radio. Global signals indicate the speaker accesses a multinational audience – television or communication to the United Nations.

Timing	(-) <i>n</i> months (+) <i>n</i> months	The number of days before (- <i>n</i>) or after (+ <i>n</i>) the beginning of the hostilities.
Age	Age = in years	Age is represented by the age of the presenter at the time of the speech. Standard biographic data is acquired through government, NGO, and scholarly sites (H.W. Wilson Biographic Reference Bank).
War Approval	n% = NO	Based on the Gallup Survey “In view of the developments since we first sent our troops to [country], do you think the United States made a mistake sending troops to [country], or not.” These opinions were polled between August 1965 and January 1973 (Mintz 2003) and March 2003 and February 2007 (Gallup Poll 2007).
War in Question (D1 IRAQ)	Iraq = 1 Vietnam = 0	Vietnam War represented the period from January 1962 when USA advisors first were deployed to January 1973 with the culmination of the Paris Peace Talks. The Iraq War represents the period from March 19, 2003 through the present occupation.

The criterion variables of life and survival, resources, and threats will be further defined through the analysis of keyword frequency. The final variable, vagueness, will be defined utilizing Hiller's Communication Vagueness Scale (see Table 2.2). Vagueness is “characterized by an excess of qualifications, the style achieving an aspect of haziness and ambiguity” (Hiller et al., 1969a:274). Vagueness is further identified as “a psychological construct which refers to the state of mind of a performer who does not sufficiently command the facts or the understanding required for maximally effective communication” (Hiller et al. 1969b:670). Vagueness, then, is established as the “internal stimulus” that indicates the speaker’s commitment to delivering information of which he is not certain (Hiller et al. 1969b:670).

TABLE 2.2: Defining the Criterion Variables of Life and Survival, Predation Threats, Resources and Vagueness Variable (Provalis Research 2005c).

Criterion Variable	Values	Definition
Life and Survival	Words similar to: Life Death People	Every organism “at some period of its life, during some season of the year, during each generation, or at intervals, has to struggle for life” (Darwin 2002 [1872]:62). This variable codes for text that produces the imagery of survival and reproduction.
Threats	Words similar to: Aggression Violence Military	Predation “is among the most important selective pressures on animals. In addition to its direct effects on mortality, predation can act indirectly by shaping behavior and ecology” (Treves 2002:222). Imagery includes both substantive threats (weapons) and ideological threats such as terrorism.
Resources	Words similar to: Economy Freedom Land	Every organism is dependent on “all the other organic beings, with which it comes into competition for food or residence” (Darwin 2002 [1872]: 61). This variable codes for text that produces images tied to resources.
Vagueness	Ambiguous Designation	“Something potentially specifiable is referred but not definitely identified.”
	Negated Intensifiers	“Negations can be evasions.”
	Approximation	“Use reflects real or referential vagueness or imprecise knowledge.”
	Bluffing and Recovery	“Used when a writer is not communicating effectively and tries to shift responsibility for making sense of content to the reader.”
	Admission of Error	“Repeated admissions indicate lack of confidence or lack of competence.”
	Indefinite Amount	“An amount is potentially knowable but is not specified.”
	Multiplicity	“Pseudospecification or glossing over of complexity.”
	Probability and Possibility	“Indicates lack of clarity or lack of definite knowledge.”
	Reservations	“Expressions of doubt or reluctance to commit to a definite point of view.”
	Anaphora	“Excessive and repetitious use of pronouns rather than direct references makes content more difficult to follow.”

Text analysis, as aid by computer software (CATA), provides three significant advantages over manual coding of the documents: reliability of coding for keywords, the ability to replicate coding protocols, and the capacity to generate a dictionary list from frequency analysis. The latter is a noteworthy advantage in formalizing the coding scheme (Stage 4) for creating a dictionary linked to fitness interests. But the use of CATA requires extensive investigation into various application options. Some of the issues addressed include the ability to create custom dictionaries, the presence of applicable prefabricated dictionaries, the ease of use with regard to programming, the statistical output generated, and the cost of the application.

VBPro and Yoshikoder were initially evaluated because of their cost and scholarly reputation in speech analysis. Both proved limited in capacities or dated in functionality for the analysis. Diction 5.0 was an obvious choice because of its focus on discourse, but it has been considered suspect by some in that it views its dictionaries as proprietary data and will not release the keywords (Lowe 2002:6). General Inquirer, was a solid choice because of its use in a wide range of disciplines and the numerous prefabricated dictionaries, but is only available through email and the recent passing of its creator (Philip J. Stone) left it unsupported.

The selected option, WordStat from Provalis Research, is robust in its CATA features and links directly as a module to Provalis' statistical analysis program SimStat. With these two programs the user is provided a variety of statistical tests, regressions, and comparisons through dropdown menus. WordStat's functionality was "for automatic categorization of text using a dictionary approach or various text mining as well as for manual coding.... It also may be used in the development and validation of new categorization dictionaries or taxonomies" (Provalis 2005a). This ability is of benefit in creating a coding schema, providing keywords that can be

reviewed case-by-case through the Keyword in Context feature. Words can then be added to an exclusion list, providing greater reliability to the context of the word frequencies.

The creation of dataset requires random sampling protocols (Stage 5) that ensure that “every possible sample of the given size has an equal chance of being drawn” (Kachigan 1991:82). Without random sampling the “representation of the sample is biased,” which means that the researcher is not able to calculate the sampling error, inhibiting their ability to make inferences about the population (Riffe et al. 2005:95). The challenge arises in that the small sample sizes in anthropology rarely support random sampling (Neuendorf 2002: 83; Winterhalder and Smith 2000:52). For content analysis, texts should be sampled in such a way as to give the researcher “a fair chance” of answering their questions (Krippendorff 2004:113).

To address these issues, a relevance sampling technique is employed, yielding advantages and corresponding disadvantages over strict random, systematic, stratified, or cluster sampling. Relevance sampling employs standard random sampling techniques, but only those observations whose textual content matches the subject matter is included in the dataset. The advantage of relevance sampling is that it selects “textual units” that facilitate the analysis of specific predictions (Krippendorff 2004:119; Neuendorf 2002:88; Riffe 2005:100-101). The draw back is that forgoing random sampling limits the ability to make acceptable generalizations concerning the populations. Relevance sampling can be done randomly using Internet search engines (Krippendorff 2004:119) and through the use of strict protocols.

A sample size target is set at 108 cases. This number is determined through a table provided by Krippendorff that establishes the data reliability (2004:238-240). The three components to this table include minimum acceptable reliability (conservatively set at .8 for the purpose of this determination), level of statistical significance (set at .05), and probability of the

number of equal values with regard to categories (set at 1 in 7 or .143). The use of .80 reliability is conservative for the purpose of this paper. The original target of 108 cases is acquired, but as an error was made coding for the conflict, the sample size is increased to 58 cases each for Iraq and Vietnam, resulting in a sample size of 116 cases.

The Text Inclusion Protocols includes limiting text to transcripts of speeches, interviews, and prepared remarks over 500 words in length that had been presented to broad audiences and which are accessible to the mass media. The dialogue must be directed toward “Iraq” or “Vietnam,” with these names representing at least 1% of the total word count. The length and audience restrictions on these speeches are meant to exclude remarks made in passing that could not provide substantive material. They also exclude general postings to the Internet that, that while available to wide audiences, are typically not accessed by wide audiences (i.e., blog sites). Prepared remarks include correspondences between elites if that correspondence is accessible to a national audience. Finally, transcripts are only accepted if they are in total and not extracts of the original dialogue, as these truncated versions might be indicative of third party bias.

The Search Protocols use Google to locate digital archives of speeches. Searches return the following sites: American Presidency, American Rhetoric, Commonwealth Club of California, Digital History – University of Houston, National Archives of Australia, Public Broadcasting System, United Nations Bibliographic Information System, the White House, 10 Downing Street, and the United States State Department. These archives supply 63 speeches.

Independent secondary searches on the Iraq War and Vietnam War also use Google. Only transcripts from governmental, NGO, educational, and media websites are accepted as otherwise the previously protocols established would be forfeited. The first search, “Iraq Oppose Support Invasion Occupation Speech,” yields 1,040,000 hits. The second search, “Vietnam

Oppose Support Invasion Occupation Speech,” yields 986,000 hits. Following selection procedures, the secondary searches result in 47 speeches for analysis. A tertiary search is performed as a result of error in coding for the conflict. Six additional speeches are required to balance the Iraq and Vietnam conflicts at 58 texts speeches each. These final six speeches are recovered the *New York Times Historical Archive*.

The texts of the messages are downloaded into an Access database to track bibliographic data, speech text, timing of the speech, conflict addressed, and speakers’ support or opposition to the invasion. The final dataset (see Table 2.3) specifies 78 of the cases (67%) are from the invader’s perspective, 20 (17%) are from the invaded, and 18 (16%) are from noncombatants.

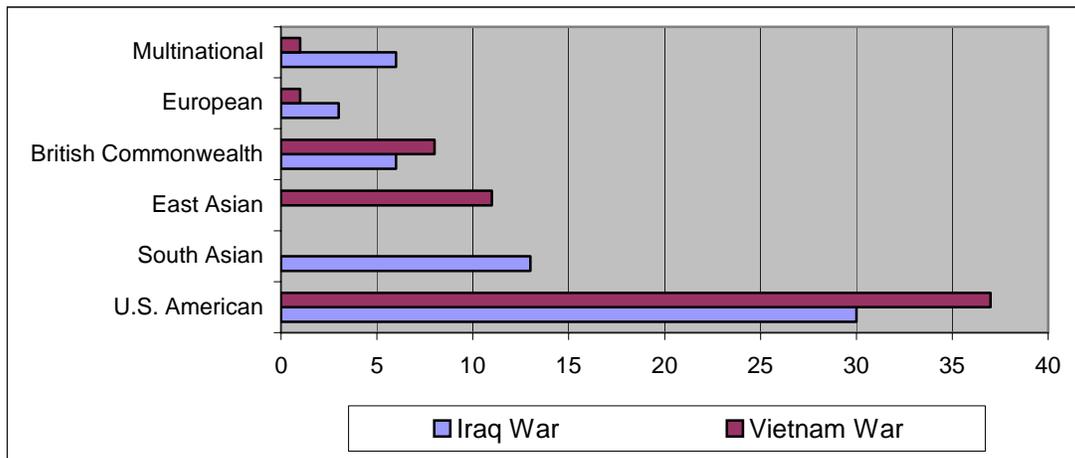
TABLE 2.3: Descriptive Statistics of Text Dataset

War	Number Cases	Position of the Speaker	
		Support	Oppose
Iraq	58	18	40
Vietnam	58	23	35
Totals	116	41	75

While 67 of the 116 speeches (58%) are from American elites, the remaining represents a cross-cultural sample ranging from Southeast Asia to Europe (see Figure 2.2). In total there are 83 speakers. Thirty-eight speakers are from the United States. Fourteen are from the British Commonwealth, thirteen are from South Asia, eleven from Southeast Asia, and seven multinational speakers. Twelve country leaders from Australia, Britain, China, Iraq, New Zealand, Russia, U.S.A., and Vietnam are represented in over thirty speeches. The remainder of the sample includes activist, foreign diplomats, political organizations, local and national politicians, religious leaders, news correspondents, and intellectuals. The average age of the

speakers is 56 years old. As there are only five females versus some 89 males in the sample, gender was not considered a valid predictor variable.

Figure 2.2: Number of Speakers from Specific Geographic Regions



It is important to note that 100% of the “supporters” of an invasion or occupation are from the “invading” country. Those being invaded, no matter how militaristic or patriotic their rhetoric, are opposed to the invasion or occupation of their land. Under the logic that though the speaker from the invaded country might be pro-defense, their rhetoric should distinguish itself from the invader’s in that the invaded is under greater risk to resource loss and predation.

The final component of this analysis is the creation of a dictionary of keyword terms from the sampled texts to initiate coding (Stage 7). This technique is known as “dictionary emergent from data” (Neuendorf 2002:129). This step yields the final dictionary, which is built directly from the emergent word frequencies. Because the process of coding is tied to the analysis, it will be discussed in the section to follow – Data Extraction and Analysis (Stage 8).

Data Extraction and Analysis

With the dataset and variables established, the 116 cases are exported from ACCESS to SimStat – the statistical program for WordStat. Brackets are placed throughout the text to ensure that WordStat ignores introductions, salutations, and bibliographic data. An initial run of the dataset through WordStat is performed to acquire a list of high frequency keywords and phrases in preparation for the formation of the dictionary (Provalis Research 2005b:10-11).

Categorization and Dictionary Development

The final step is the creation of a dictionary of keyword terms from the sampled texts to initiate coding. This technique is known as “dictionary emergent from data” (Neuendorf 2002:129). The first phase in categorization is to create a dictionary based on keyword frequencies. Using Wordstat’s Frequency Extraction, a word frequency list of 236,580 total words (13,164 unique) is compiled for the 116 cases. The keywords with the highest frequency are war (n=1313), Iraq (n=1150), and people (n=1101). A phrase count produced 712,340 phrases, of which 15,573 are unique. The most common phrases include the_war (n=419) and the_people (n=242). A case-by-case review of the context for 989 keywords excludes over 500. The keywords “freedom” (n=137), “attack” (n=117) and “economic” (n=109) now having the highest frequencies, while “Zionist Entity” and “Zionist Enemy” have only one occurrence each.

The next stage is to reduce keyword redundancy and establish keyword frequencies. For example, rice can be either a food or a name – Condoleezza Rice. Also, democratic, can be part of the process of creating a democracy or it can be a title, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The remaining words are “lemmatized” (converted to a normal form of a word) to eliminate redundancy. Thus, “attack,” “attacks,” and “attacked” are accessed through a wildcard (attack*).

The list is also reduced to include only keywords occurring in over 10% of the cases. The list is further reduced to eliminate conflict specific words; Al Qaeda, Bin Laden, biological, disarm, oil, paid, sanctions, September 11, the War on Terror, and weapons of mass destruction. The abridged list of 212 keywords is exported to an EXCEL spreadsheet along with the frequency and total word counts for each case. Finally, the keyword frequency is divided by the total word count for each case, providing a standardized ratio level variable. To compensate for the small percentages produced, often less than 1%, the resulting ratio is multiplied by 1000.

At this point the goal is to categorize the keywords into three themes: life, resources and threats. The creation of categories based on “coding entails picking any one of a set of English words that represents [the latent message of the author]... it can be placed in a dictionary and used to decode other texts” (Lowe 2002:2). Predisposed, thematic-based categorization, though it might appear subjective, is in actuality a primary tactic in content analysis (Stone 1997). To better grasp the themes within the dataset, the ratio of keyword frequency to total words in each case (hereafter known only as keyword frequencies) is exported to SPSS 12.0 for factor reduction through a Principal Components Analysis. Ignoring any component whose *Eigenvalue* is less than one and any variable whose absolute component loading is less than .100, a matrix of 64 components by the 212 variables is produced. This matrix is then transferred to EXCEL where loadings for Component 1 through 20 (representing 50% of the variation) are sorted from high to low. The purpose is to separate the individual components in this list into the themes of life, resources and threats. The resulting lists again do not provide statistical reliability (the Chronbach’s *alpha* for the themes is less than .70) until it is noted that words tied to aggression, threats, and the military are over represented in each of the individual components. In the first six components 48.5% of the words over an absolute value of .100 can be tied to aggression, threats,

or the military. Once these words are excluded, either the theme of life or resources stands out in the individual components. Thus, threat is a part of the analysis in that the PCA indicates that threat is either correlated to life or resources within each component.

The dialogue of the elites is tied to either a threat to life or a threat to resources. Rather than being a separate variable, here threat is implicit in the dialogue. But the categories of LIFE – DEATH – PEOPLE and TRADE – AID – SOVEREIGNTY are also associated with words indicating threat that only load on one of the categories. For example, napalm loads highly with LIFE – DEATH – PEOPLE, but does not load with TRADE – AID – SOVEREIGNTY.

Calculating the Cronbach's *alpha* in SAS 9.1, the themes of LIFE – DEATH – PEOPLE (n=54) and TRADE – AID – SOVEREIGNTY (n=52) prove reliable (Cronbach's *alpha* > .700, see Figures 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 – Appendix) while the words tied to aggression do not (Cronbach's *alpha* .415, see Figure 2.4.3 – Appendix). Each word in the individual categories is reviewed to confirm its influence on the *alpha*, if negative it is excluded from the list. Cronbach's *alpha* is not typically used to test reliability in text analysis (Krippendorff 2004:249), but this caveat, is in reference to reliability of manual coding by individual coders. This paper uses it to confirm a reliable correlation between keywords for the purpose of categorization, not for coding.

Ambiguity Dictionary

As noted in earlier, message ambiguity will be analyzed using Hiller's Communication Vagueness Scale. Vagueness is “characterized by an excess of qualifications, the style achieving an aspect of haziness and ambiguity” (Hiller et al. 1969a:274). While this scale is often used to measure total ambiguity, this analysis will focus on components specific to vagueness.

The frequencies for the ten variables are extracted and the keyword frequencies calculated. To better grasp the themes within the dataset, the frequencies are exported to SPSS for factor reduction through a PCA. Ignoring any component whose *Eigenvalue* is less than one; a matrix of three components is derived. This matrix is rotated utilizing *Varimax*. Four highly loaded variables in Component One – Ambiguity, Bluff and Recovery, Admission of Error, and Anaphora – explain 24.867% of the variance (see Table 2.5). The combined frequencies of these four variables will indicate a message’s ambiguity (VAGUENESS) in the analysis.

TABLE 2.5: Principle Component Analysis Reduction for the Hiller’s Vagueness Scale

Rotated Component Matrix^a

	Component		
	1	2	3
AMBIGUOUS DESIGNATION	.683	.100	-.038
NEGATED INTENSIFIERS	.227	-.029	.724
APPROXIMATION	.494	.122	.249
BLUFF AND RECOVERY	.659	.133	.134
ADMISSION OF ERROR	.693	.027	-.202
INDEFINITE AMOUNT	.462	.475	.012
MULTIPLICITY	.103	-.056	-.748
PROBABILITY AND POSSIBILITY	.057	.829	.200
RESERVATIONS	.099	.792	-.134
ANAPHORA	.758	.044	.132

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

CHAPTER THREE

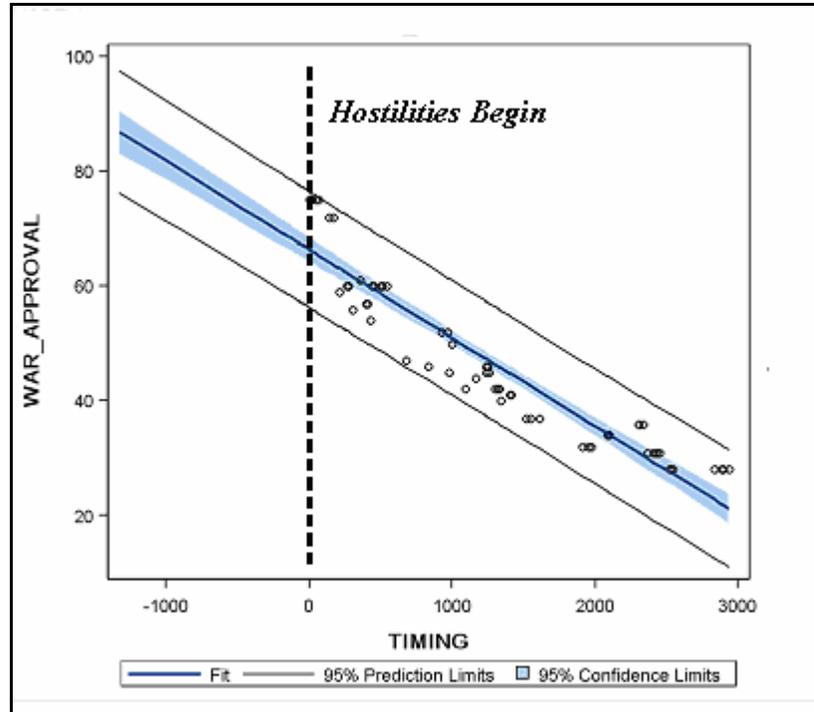
RESULTS

This analysis employs linear regression to explore the relationship between elites' discourse and the criterion variables of LIFE-DEATH-PEOPLE (LIFE), TRADE-AID-SOVEREIGNTY (TRADE), and VAGUENESS. Regression analysis uses the predictor variables to explain the variation in the criterion variables (Krippendorff 2004:1997). The predictor variables are D1 SUPPORT (Support = 1, Oppose = 0), D1 INVADER (Invaded = 1, Invaded / Noncombatant = 0), D1 IRAQ (Iraq = 1, Vietnam = 0), D2 GLOBAL (Local Message = 0, Regional = 1, Global = 2), TIMING (in relation to when the hostilities began), AGE (of the speaker), and Gallup's WAR APPROVAL Ratings. In deciding which predictor variables to use in constructing "concise regression" models, computer statistical packages allow the consideration of "every possible regression equation" (Kachigan 1991:187). This analysis will use the convention of .05 for the significance level ($\alpha = .05$, Kachigan 1991:108-109; Shennan 1997:53-54). Clarifying the goodness-of-fit, an R^2 value above .30 indicates a moderate correlation, while .60 and above indicates a strong correlation (Shennan 1997:144).

Because of colinearity and lack of data for some variables, care must be used in constructing the models. First, because of speaker anonymity, AGE restricts the number of cases available. WAR APPROVAL presents similar difficulties as Gallup only polls the invaders after hostilities begin. Also, the combined use of AGE and WAR APPROVAL is excluded when modeling invaded and noncombatants' discourse as it is too restrictive ($n = 10$). Finally, a strong (negative) correlation between WAR APPROVAL and TIMING ($p < .00001$, see Figure 3.1)

restricts the joint use of these variables. This colinearity might not be unusual in conflicts as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. notes; “All wars are popular for the first thirty days” (Charlton 2002:133).

FIGURE 3.1: Bivariate Analysis for WAR APPROVAL RATINGS and TIMING (days) with ZERO Indicating the Onset of Hostilities (Rsq = .892, n = 64, WAR APPROVAL = 64.334 – 0.0154 TIMING).



Analysis of Prediction 1

Prediction 1 proposes that those elites opposed to the conflict will use discourse tied to survival (LIFE), while those in support will use discourse tied to resources (TRADE). The prediction also proposes that youth opposed to the conflict will use images tied to survival (LIFE). A regression analysis for LIFE and invaders opposed to the war indicates a significant ($p = .001$), negative association between LIFE and the AGE of the speaker (see Figure 3.2). The model has a moderate goodness-of-fit. This association cannot be confirmed for the invaded or

noncombatants opposed to the conflict. A square root transformation is performed to resolve issues with the regression diagnostics. The regression indicates a significant ($p = .018$), but positive correlation between AGE and the use of discourse tied to sqrtLIFE (see Figure 3.3). The goodness-of-fit for the model is weak. The result reveals that it is the aged invaded or noncombatant use images tied to LIFE. This might be indicative of the fitness gains that the youth of an invaded country garner by fighting in a war against an oppressive invader (personal communication Misty Luminais, October 2007).

FIGURE 3.2: Bivariate Analysis for LIFE and AGE for INVADERS OPPOSING the war ($Rsq = .342$, $n = 31$, $LIFE_DEATH_PEOPLE = 20.47 - 0.2059AGE$).

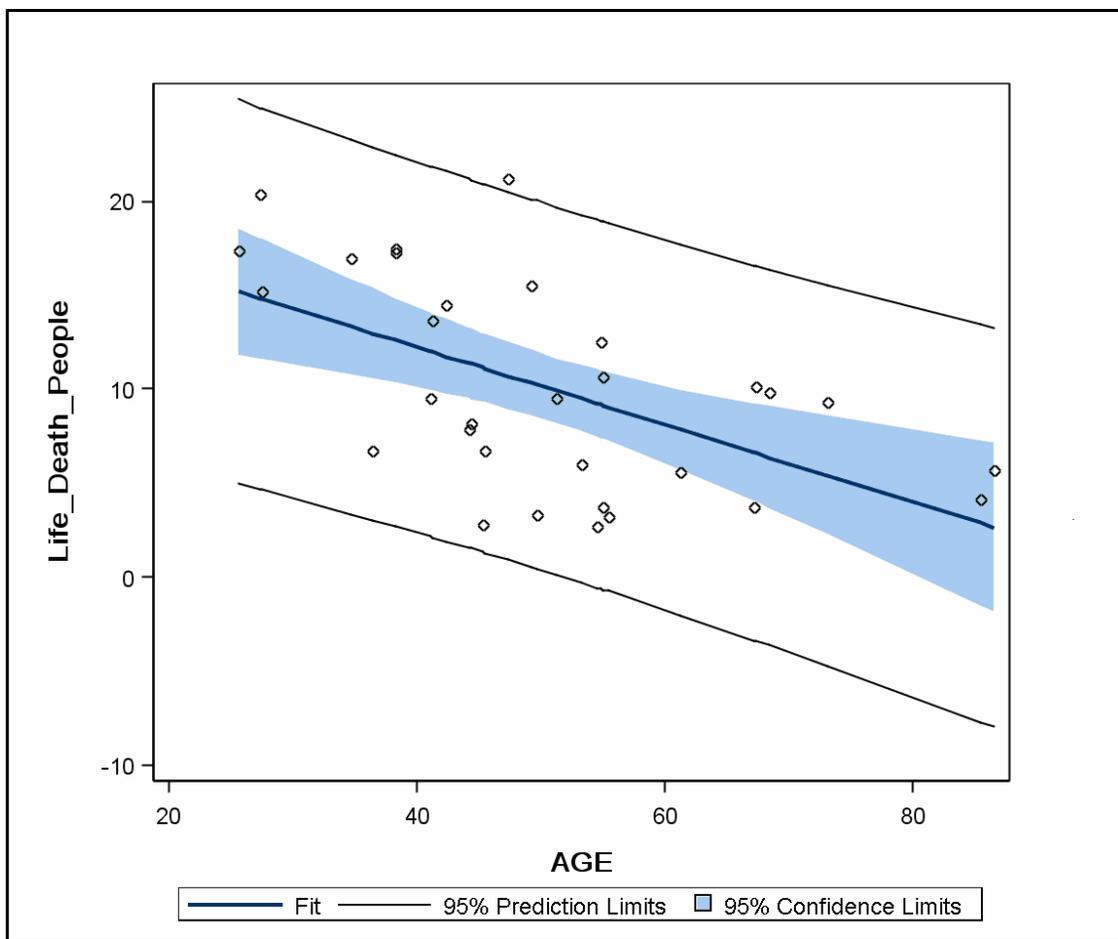
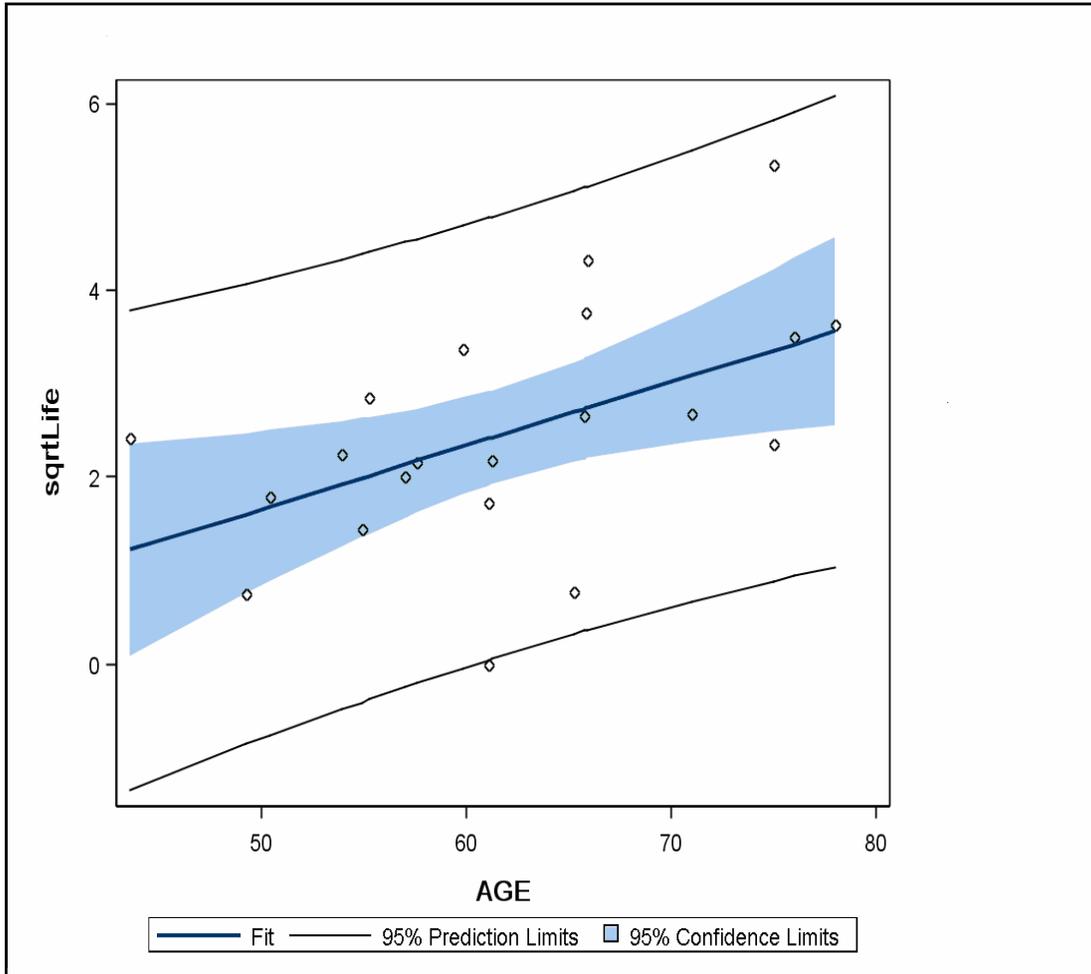
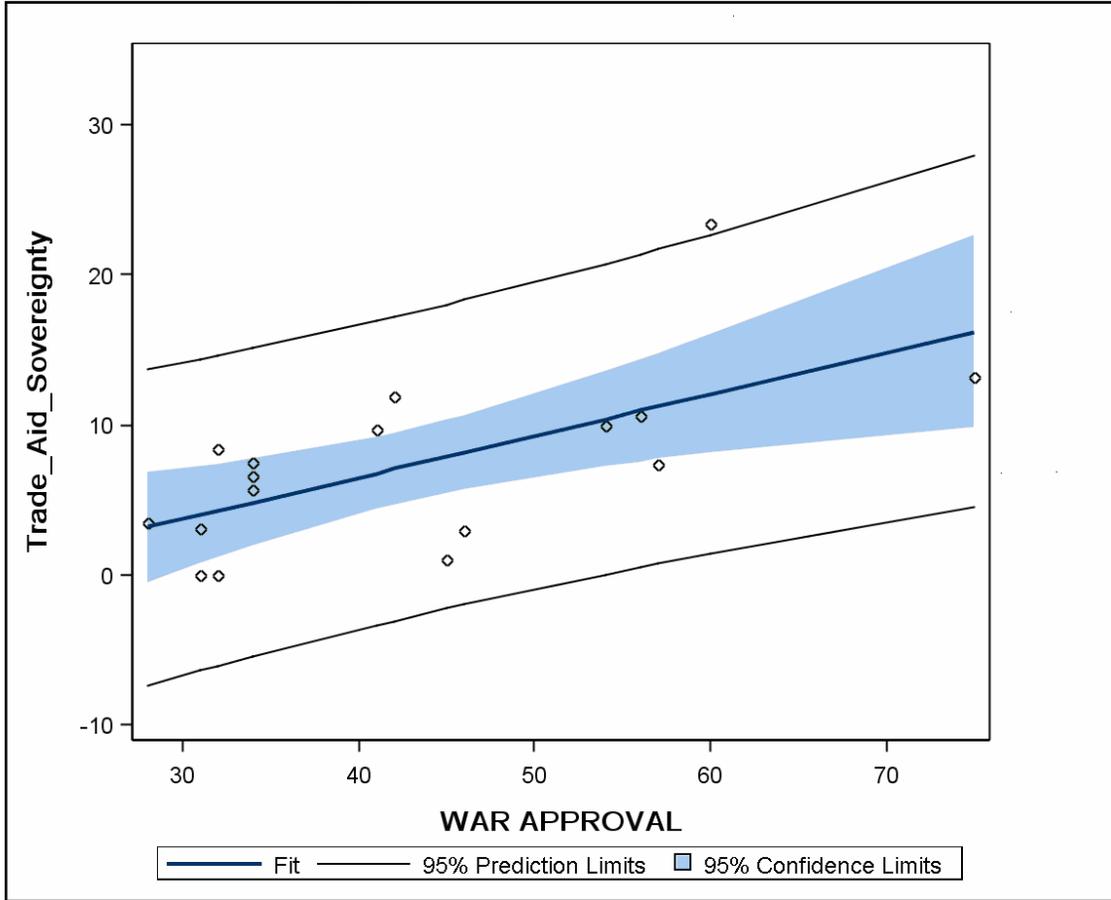


FIGURE 3.3: Bivariate Analysis of sqrtLIFE and AGE for the Invaded and Noncombatants ($Rsq = .261$, $n = 21$, $\text{sqrtLIFE} = 1.7436 + 0.068\text{AGE}$).



The prediction that supporters will use discourse to resources (TRADE) is confirmed, but as influenced by the WAR APPROVAL ratings. The analysis indicates that elites use discourse tied to TRADE, but that the association is positive rather than the predicted negatively correlated (see Figure 3.4). The model has a moderate goodness-of-fit. Figure 3.4 shows that supporters use less discourse tied to resources when approval ratings are low. This analysis supports Prediction 1 that supporters use discourse tied to resources, but not in the spirit in which the prediction was originated. The results, as noted below, also do not support Prediction 2.

FIGURE 3.4: Bivariate analysis for TRADE-AID-SOVEREIGNTY (Resources) and WAR APPROVAL Ratings for SUPPORTING INVADERS (Rsq = .404, n = 17, TRADE = -4.6243 + 0.2788WAR APPROVAL)



Analysis of Prediction 2

The previous analysis also encompasses Prediction 2, whereby WAR APPROVAL ratings are indicative of the noise a signaler faces. This prediction proposes that when WAR APPROVAL ratings are low, elites supporting the war will use discourse tied to resources to overcome the noise. As noted above, the use of signals tied to resources is actually higher when the elites are facing less opposition – not confirming the prediction for supporting elites. The prediction that elites opposing the war would use discourse tied to survival when approval ratings are high is not supported. As such, Prediction 2 was not supported in total.

Analysis of Prediction 3

Prediction 3 proposes that when war approval ratings are high, elites opposed to the war will use ambiguous discourse in attempt to manipulate population whose goals are divergent. Conversely, when war approval ratings are low, those elites supporting the war will use ambiguous discourse. It is also proposed that when targeting national or global audiences, with goals that naturally vary, ambiguity maintains a broad range of interpretations. While the prediction is not validated across all positions, the analysis provided significant ($p = .048$) association for invaders opposed to the conflict. The model indicates a moderate goodness-of-fit for VAGUENESS regressed against AGE as influenced by WAR APPROVAL and the message's MEDIUM (see Table 3.1). While the discourse for opposing invaders is ambiguous, AGE is a better predictor than the noise derived from divergent goals or audience size.

TABLE 3.1: Regression for VAGUENESS against AGE, influenced by MEDIUM and WAR APPROVAL for OPPOSING INVADERS ($Rsq = .363$, $n = 21$).

Predictor Variable	STD Beta	Beta Pr > t
War Approval Ratings (percent of population)	0.36910	0.1748
Speech to a Local Group (0), National Media (1), or Global Broadcast (2)	0.29656	0.1925
AGE of the Presenter	-0.67486	0.0108

Summary for Predictions

In summary, only the prediction that youth utilize discourse tied to fitness interests in survival can be clearly validated. The other predictions were either not supported through unexpected associations or the models could not be clearly teased apart. The results do hint that an exploratory analysis of the original inquires across a broad spectrum of predictor variables might provide clarification to elites' use of discourse to manipulate the behavior of populations.

Exploratory Analysis of Inquiry 1: Signals Tied to Fitness Interests

Addressing the first inquiry – do elites use discourse tied to fitness interests – LIFE and TRADE are regressed against the predictor variables of D1 SUPPORT, D1 INVADER, D1 IRAQ, D2 GLOBAL, and TIMING. The regression does not provide significant associations between elites’ rhetoric and LIFE. However, the analysis for the predictors and TRADE reveals issues within the regression diagnostics that are improved using a logarithmic transformation. The model of logTRADE results in a significant, negative association against TIMING (see Table 3.2) and explains to a significant degree the variation (ANOVA), but with a weak goodness of fit. The social position of the speaker (support or opposed, invader or invaded), though not statistically significant ($p > .05$), is of influence on the model. The timing of a speech negatively correlates to the use of discourse tied to fitness interests in resources. Early in the war, elites from the invaded country or generally opposed to the war frequently cite resources. As hostilities progress elites reduce a reliance on resource references.

TABLE 3.2: Inquiry 1 – Do ELITES in GENERAL use discourse tied to TRADE?

Predictor Variable	<i>logTRADE-AID-SOVEREIGNTY*</i>	
	STD Beta	Beta Pr
<i>Speech Timing (days before (-) or after (+) hostilities begin)</i>	-0.307	0.0011
<i>Speaker Opposed to War (0) or Supporting War (1)</i>	-0.092	0.3863
<i>Speaker from Invaded Country (0) or Invading Country (1)</i>	-0.066	0.5406

*Rsq = .1156, ANOVA Pr = .0032

Notes: Only the model that provided significant results (Beta Pr < .05) is listed. STD Beta is the standardized Beta weight which indicates the correlation between the predictor and criterion variables.

Exploratory Analysis of Inquiry 2: Context of Signals

Because the speaker’s position is of influence, a regression is performed on the inquiry – do elites supporting and opposing the war use signals equally and in the same context? The speaker’s position is defined by the *selection variable* D2 INVADER SUPPORT (Supporting Invader = 2, Opposing Invaders = 1, Invaded / Noncombatant = 0). This analysis will ascertain whether the speaker’s position influences their use discourse tied to LIFE and TRADE in context to TIMING, WAR APPROVAL, AGE, and MEDIUM for both conflicts (D1 IRAQ).

INQUIRY 2a – Do INVADERS SUPPORTING the war use discourse tied to LIFE?

As an analysis of discourse tied to trade for supporting invaders was reported in the predictions, a regression of LIFE for supporters was performed to confirm further associations. The model provides a moderate goodness of fit that explains a significant amount of the variance (see Table 3.3) with AGE and MEDIUM significantly and positively associated in the model and the conflict and WAR APPROVAL of influence, but not significant. After hostilities began in Iraq, youthful supporters broadcasting globally, use discourse tied to survival.

TABLE 3.3: Do SUPPORTING INVADERS use discourse tied to survival (LIFE)?

Predictor Variable	<i>LIFE-DEATH-PEOPLE*</i>		<i>TRADE-AID-SOVEREIGNTY**</i>	
	STD Beta	Beta Pr	STD Beta	Beta Pr
<i>Age of the Presenter</i>	-0.584	0.0199		
<i>Vietnam War (0) and Current Iraq Conflict (1)</i>	0.847	0.0514		
<i>War Approval Rating (percent of population)</i>	0.034	0.9265	0.636	0.0061
<i>Speech to Local Group (0), National Media (1), or Global Broadcast (2)</i>	0.866	0.0243		

*Rsq = .5206, ANOVA Pr = .05
 **Rsq = .4040, ANOVA Pr = .0061

Notes: Only the models that provide significant results (Beta Pr < .05) are listed. STD Beta is the standardized Beta weight which indicates the correlation between the predictor and criterion variables.

Inquiry 2b: Do INVADERS OPPOSING the war use discourse tied to resources (TRADE)?

Within the predictions, the use discourse tied to survival was already confirmed by invaders opposing the war. To further substantiate their dialogue, the use of discourse tied to fitness interests in resources is investigated. Issues with the regression diagnostics for the analysis of TRADE against opposing invaders are resolved by a square root transformation. A significant and negative association (see Table 3.4) between TRADE and MEDIUM (with AGE influencing the model) indicates that opposing invaders use discourse tied to resources when they are attempting to influence local audiences (see Figure 3.5). The model proves significant in explaining the variance, but with a weak goodness of fit (Rsqu = .2567). Speeches, then, to local audiences from older elites use discourse tied to fitness interests in resources.

TABLE 3.4: Do OPPOSING INVADERS use discourse tied to resources (TRADE)?

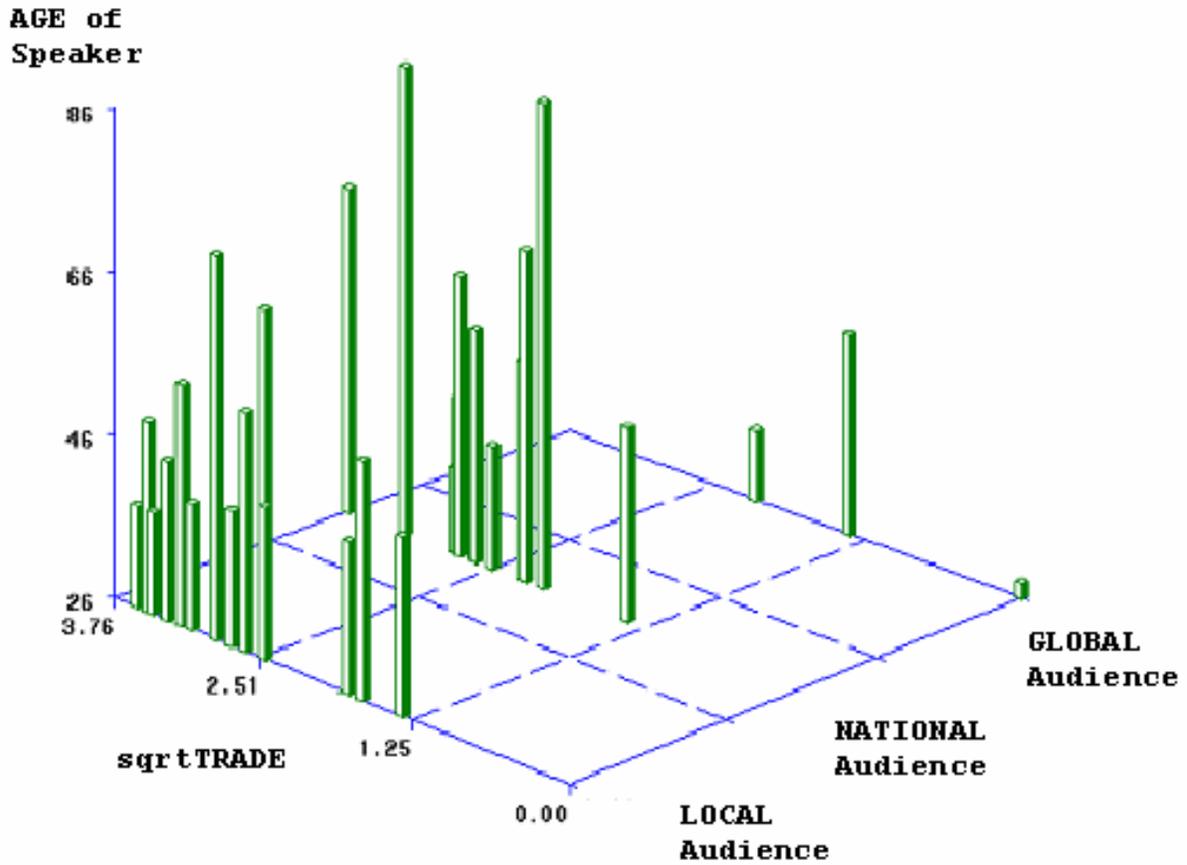
Predictor Variable	<i>LIFE-DEATH-PEOPLE</i> *		<i>sqrtTRADE-AID-SOVEREIGNTY</i> **	
	STD Beta	Beta Pr	STD Beta	Beta Pr
<i>Age of the Presenter</i>	-0.561	0.001	0.293	0.0828
<i>Speech to Local Group (0), National Media (1), or Global Broadcast (2)</i>			-0.411	0.0177

*Rsqu = .3142, ANOVA Pr = .001

**Rsqu = .2567, ANOVA Pr = .00157

Notes: Only the models that provide significant results (Beta Pr < .05) are listed. STD Beta is the standardized Beta weight which indicates the correlation between the predictor and criterion variables.

FIGURE 3.5: Regression for sqrtTRADE against the message's MEDIUM (Global, National, or Local) as influenced by AGE for INVADERS OPPOSING the war (n = 31).



In summary, the use of discourse tied to fitness interests is context dependent for invaders who oppose the conflict. For example, youth opposed to war use discourse tied to LIFE-DEATH-PEOPLE at a greater extent than the aged. On the other hand, a speaker presenting to smaller audience is more likely to address the topic of TRADE-AID-SOVEREIGNTY than one speaking to a global audience. Content for the opposing invaders, then, is dependent on AGE and message's MEDIUM.

INQUIRY 2c – Do the INVADERS in a war use discourse tied to TRADE?

The analysis for invaders or noncombatants' use of discourse tied to fitness interests in resources provides no significant associations between TRADE and the predictor variables. WAR APPROVAL was excluded from the analysis as it severely limits the number of cases analyzed (n = 10).

Summary for Inquiry 2

For invaders supporting the conflict, WAR APPROVAL ratings are the most significant predictor of dialogue tied to fitness interests in resources. Invaders who opposed the war show a negative association between AGE and discourse tied to fitness interests in survival. Conversely, the invaded and noncombatants show a positive relationship between AGE and survival. Within the context of an elite's sociopolitical position, age and approval ratings are the most useful predictors of elites' use of discourse tied to fitness interests in survival or resources.

Exploratory Analysis of Inquiry 3: Ambiguity

To address the final inquiry – are elites' messages unambiguous – a regression analysis is performed on VAGUENESS against the five predictors in the context of all sociopolitical positions, as well as those positions defined as supporting invaders, invaders opposing, and the invaded and noncombatants (represented by the selection variable D2 INVADER SUPPORT). The regression for all sociopolitical positions provides a significant, negative association for VAGUENESS and AGE, with WAR APPROVAL limiting the analysis to those cases (n = 48) that follow the initiation of hostilities (see Table 3.5). The model has a moderate goodness-of-fit and significantly explains the variance. Following the outbreak of war, the dialogue of the aged is less ambiguous than that of the youth.

TABLE 3.5: Is the discourse of elites VAGUE as defined by Hiller’s Scale?

Predictor Variable	VAGUENESS ALL ELITES* STD Beta	VAGUENESS OPPOSED** STD Beta	logVAGUENESS INVADED*** STD Beta
<i>Age of the Presenter</i>	-0.586 (a)	-0.537 (b)	0.149 (ns)
<i>Vietnam War (0) and Current Iraq Conflict (1)</i>			0.690 (c)
<i>War Approval Rating (percent of population)</i>	0.224 (ns)		

*Rsq = .2854, ANOVA Pr = .00005

**Rsq = .2885, ANOVA Pr = .0018

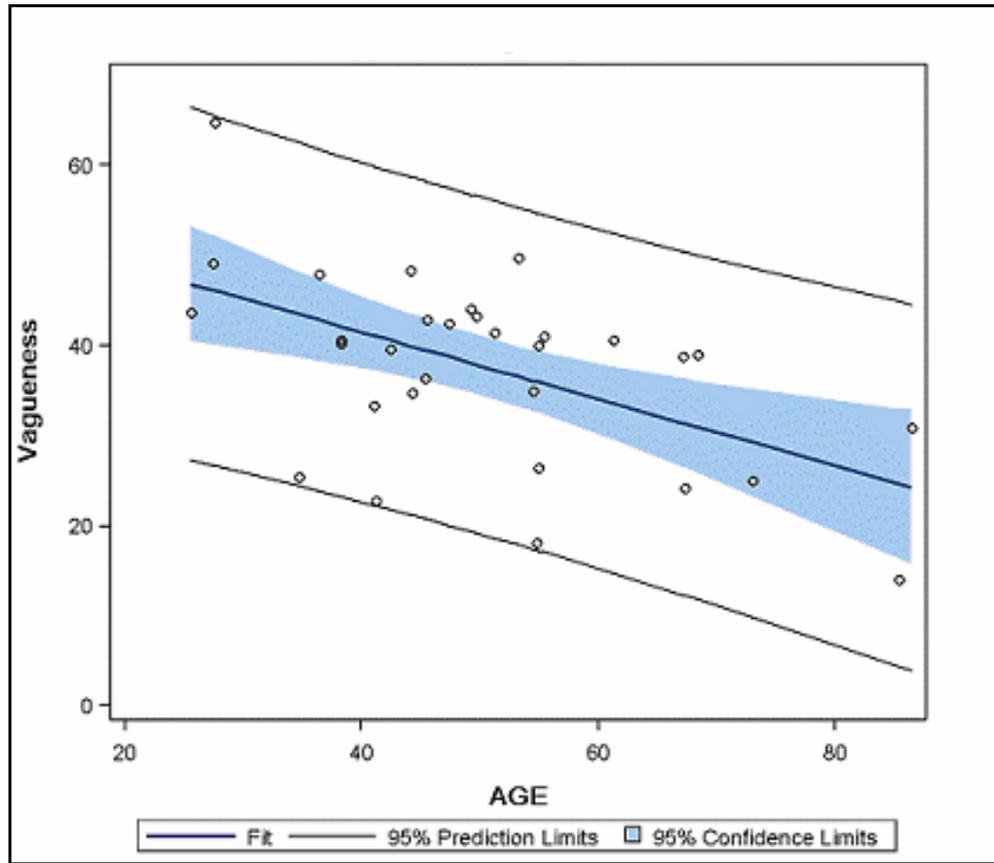
***Rsq = .3557, ANOVA Pr = .0191

Notes: Only the models and variables that provide significant results are listed. STD Beta is the standardized Beta weight, which indicates the correlation between the predictor and criterion variables. The significance of the STD Beta (Pr) is annotated as follows: (a) Pr < .0001, (b) Pr < .001, (c) Pr < .05, and (ns) Pr > .05.

Vagueness in the discourse for supporting invaders cannot be confirmed. Removing either WAR APPROVAL or TIMING from the model leaves the regression far from significant, but including them together results in an insignificant ANOVA. Transformations do not resolve the issues with the ANOVA or the collinearity of these two variables.

While there are issues within the Cook’s D for a regression analysis for VAGUENESS and the invaders who oppose the war, a transformation does not improve the diagnostics. The model as it stands provides a significant, negative association with regard to VAGUENESS and AGE (see Table 3.5). This model has a moderate goodness-of-fit that is significant in explaining its variance. This result reveals that the use of VAGUENESS by invaders opposed to the war is higher the youth than for the aged (see Figure 3.6). Ambiguity for those invaders that oppose war is often associated with the youth whose fitness is influenced by their participation in the conflict either by draft or volunteer.

FIGURE 3.6: Bivariate Analysis of VAGUENESS against AGE for OPPOSING INVADERS ($Rsq = .2885$, $n = 31$, $VAGUENESS = 56.229 - 0.3706AGE$)



The analysis for invaded or noncombatants with regard to VAGUENESS indicates a significant association, but with issues in the regression diagnostics that is resolved through a logarithmic transformation. The model results in a significant and positive association (see Table 3.5) between $\log VAGUENESS$ and the conflict (Iraq = 1, Vietnam = 0) with AGE of influence. The model significantly explains the variation with a moderate goodness-of-fit. Ambiguity in the discourse by invaded or noncombatant elites is often associated with the present conflict in Iraq.

Summary for Inquiry 3: Ambiguity

When viewed across a broad range of sociopolitical positions, AGE is the predictor for ambiguous messages by elites. AGE is also associated with VAGUENESS for invading elites opposed to the conflict. Regarding the current conflict in Iraq, ambiguous signals are often used by the invaded and noncombatant opposing the war. VAGUENESS could not be substantiated for the messages used by supporting invaders. As WAR APPROVAL is not clearly associated with ambiguity in the signals from elites, it cannot be concluded that the use of ambiguity is tied to divergent goals or cheap talk. The age of the speaker and the conflict in question, are the best predictors for this use of ambiguity in the messages by elites. This indicates that while ambiguity is a component in messages used by elites, it is only used within certain contexts.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion of the Analysis

The human history is embedded in warfare, with forensic evidence for coalitional violence tracing back nearly 8500 years to the earliest beginnings of sedentary lifeways (Thorpe 2003:157). This trend continues and is exemplified by the 12 wars of colonial / interstate aggression and the 50 civil wars that were fought between 1980 and 2001 (Nobel Prize 2007). Coalitional violence, though, is not limited to the modern nation-state. An examination of pre-industrialized societies through the Human Relations Area Files shows that 49 of 186 groups were at war at least once every two years (Ember and Ember 1992:250). Warfare is both endemic and a cross-cultural phenomenon.

Anthropologically, warfare is typically examined from the perspective of an individual's motivations to support a conflict. The result of these investigations is that the motivations for coalitional conflicts are divided into two camps. The Neo-Rousseauians view war as a construct of the materialism and population densities of complex societies, whereby parceled resources and increased storage provide an enticing opportunity for others to gain cheap access through raiding to cached material (Embers 1982; Ferguson 1997a:335; Nolan 2003; Simons 1997). The Neo-Hobbesians view war as a risky, impractical event that is driven by aggressive human nature (Ferguson 1997b:424) and the push for differential reproductive success. From either perspective, warfare, then, is endemic, with individuals motivated by fitness gains and resources.

Where this study diverges from other anthropological research into organized coalitional violence is that it explains how *populations* are manipulated by elites rather than why individuals

are motivated to go to war. That is, coalitional conflicts require the ability to motivate a population toward a cooperative effort of aggression. This cooperative effort is embedded in the ability of elites to manipulate the behavior of a population through discourse and control of the messages medium. This paper uses elite discourse to explain the how rather than the why.

Utilizing multiple regression to analyze a dataset of 116 cases derived from speeches concerning the Vietnam War and the current Iraqi conflict, this study attempts to answer three inquires. First, do elites use discourse tied to fitness interests to influence segments of the population? Second, if discourse is tied to fitness interests, do elites supporting and elites opposing the conflict use signals equally and in the same context with regard to life and resources? Finally, are elites' messages unambiguous - or in attempting to manipulate opinion do they use discourse that contains multiple meanings so that the receiver interprets the signal within his / her own preferences?

From these inquires three predictions are put forward. First, supporters will use images tied to fitness interests in resource, while the opposition (and especially the youth) use discourse tied to fitness interests in survival. Second, to overcome environmental noise (as represented by divergent war approval ratings), the opposition will amplify their signal during times of high approval, while the supporters will amplify their signal during times of low approval. Finally, ambiguity should be used by the elites when their goals diverge from the populations they are trying to influence (as represented by war approval ratings) or when they are communicating to a large audience whose beliefs or goals are varied.

Only the prediction that youth utilize discourse tied to fitness interests in survival can be validated through regression analysis. As war is most often a direct threat to the lives of young men, the youth opposing the conflict use discourse tied to fitness. Or as Lt. General Harold G.

Moore notes it was the young men who were wounded and killed on the battlefields of Vietnam (2004:xxiv) and so it is the youth (males and females) who spoke against the conflict in terms of their brothers' and fathers' survival. This association contrasts with invaded and noncombatants as it is not the youth but the aged using discourse tied to the fitness interests in survival. The other predictions could not be validated through regression models, but they did indicate that the predictor variables not considered were of influence. As such, the results hint that an exploratory analysis of the inquires might provide clarification to elites' use of discourse to manipulate the behavior of populations.

The exploratory analysis reveals that for the first inquiry, regression analysis shows that there is a statistically significant association for the category of TRADE-AID-SOVEREIGNTY (resources) with regard to timing. The category of LIFE-DEATH-PEOPLE does not provide similar significant results. Timing, then, is the most important predictor of elites use of discourse as it is tied to fitness interests in resources.

Analysis for the second inquiry uses a selection variable to differentiate between the sociopolitical positions of the elites - supporting invaders, opposing invaders, and invaded or noncombatants, revealing the use of discourse tied to fitness interest by elites is dependent on their sociopolitical position. For elites supporting the war, the use of discourse tied to resources is positively associated with the approval ratings for the conflict. In summary, the use of discourse tied to fitness interests depends on the elite's sociopolitical position and the age of the speaker and timing of the speech.

The final inquiry into the use of ambiguous messages by elites returns significant associations, again dependent on the elite's sociopolitical position. For the invaded, the use of ambiguity is positively associated with the current conflict in Iraq. For opposing invaders it is

most often the youth whose messages are vague. The use of ambiguous messages, though, is not statistically significant for invaders supporting the conflict. Ambiguity, then, is a component of the messages that majority of elites use to sponsor support for their position, but it is most clearly predicted by the sociopolitical position of the elite and the context.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, though the use of discourse tied to fitness interests by elites is not universal across all positions, there is a strong association between the sociopolitical position of the elite, the context of the signal (with age and war approval ratings as the best predictors), and the type of fitness discourse utilized. Also, ambiguity is a component of signals used all elites to motivate behavior, but again only within certain contexts. So, it would seem that ambiguous signals tied to fitness interests are utilized by elites to sponsor support or opposition to a conflict.

The goal of this study is to understand how elites use messages to manipulate populations to support the elite's position regarding a coalitional conflict. Content analysis reveals that within context, elites sculpt messages to maximize ambiguity and use discourse tied to fitness interest to manipulate behavior. Through elites' manipulation of signals, the power structure of elites, and elites' ability to control language, humanity finds its behavior manipulated by elites to support the interests of elites. These realizations should provide a sobering message - humanity is still tied to the basic behavioral motivations behind animal signaling.

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APPENDIX

FIGURE 2.1.1: *Neuendorf's Flowchart for Content Analysis*

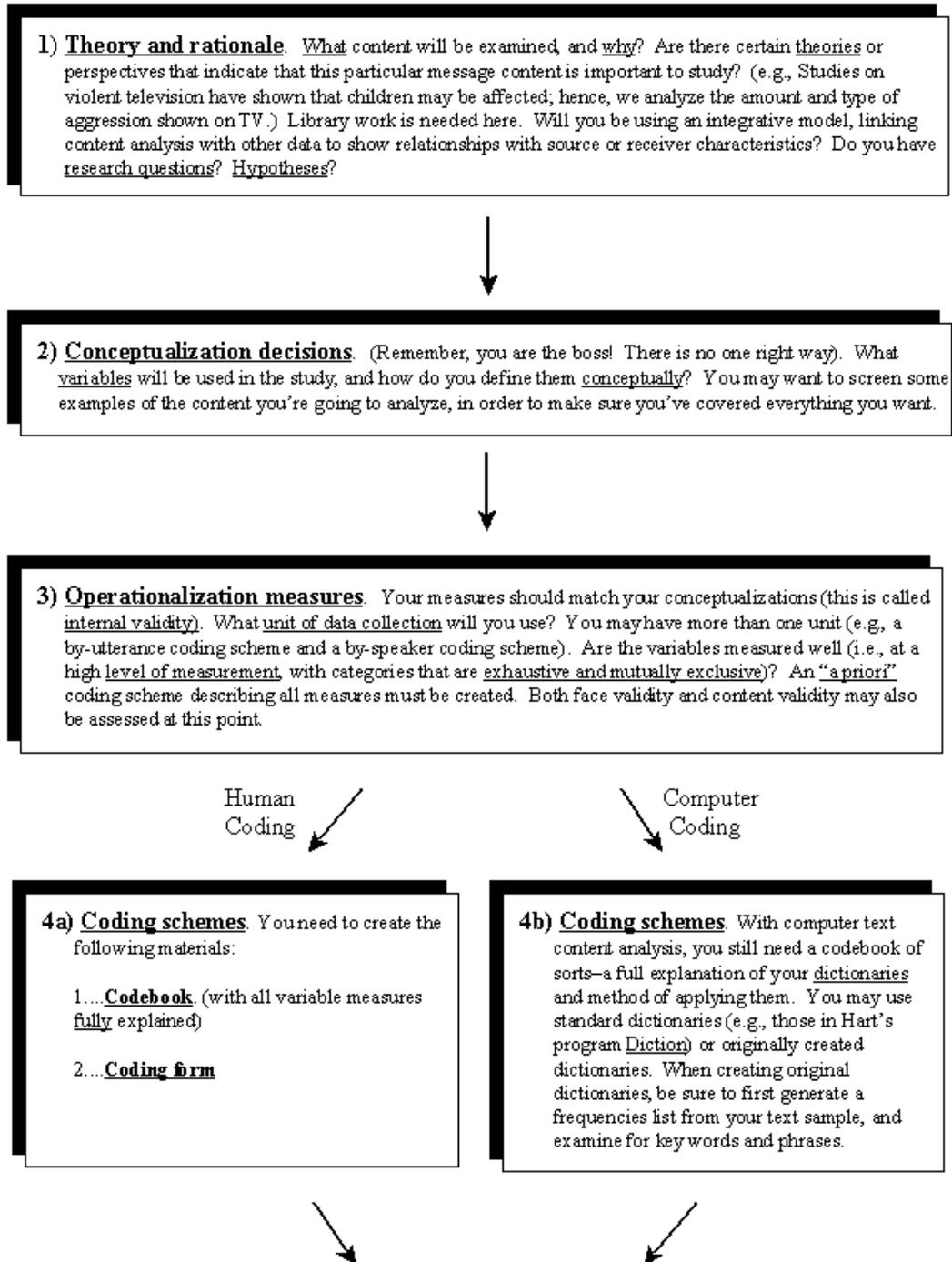


FIGURE 2.1.2: Neuendorf's Flowchart for Content Analysis (continued)

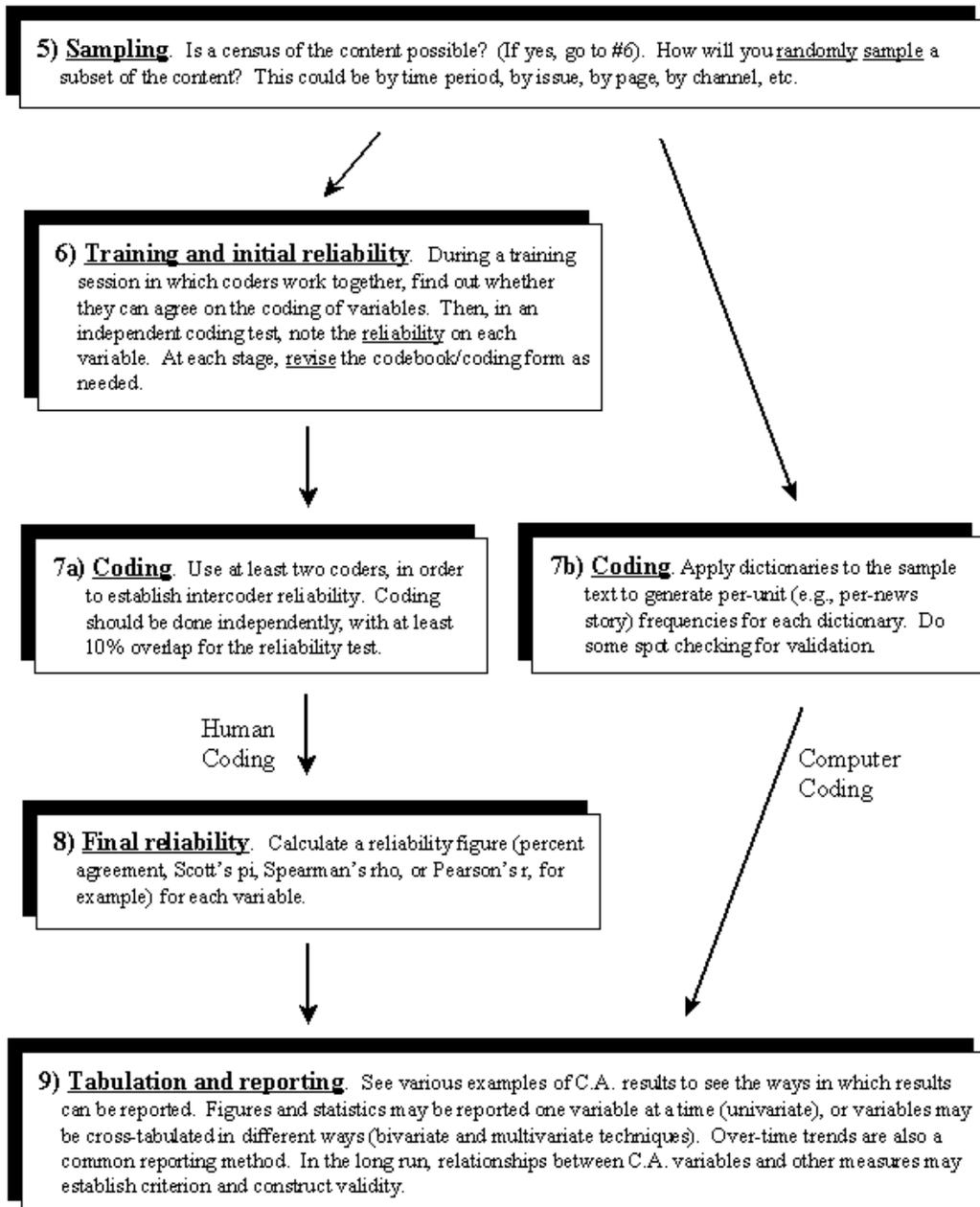


TABLE 2.4.1: Keywords Used in the Category of LIFE-DEATH-PEOPLE

LIFE – DEATH – PEOPLE (n=54) Cronbach Coefficient Alpha RAW = 0.761393		
A_PEOPLE	HUMAN	PERSONS
AN_ENEMY	INDIVIDUAL	POPULATION
BRAVE	INNOCENT	PRISONERS
BROTHERS	INVADING	SACRIFICE
CASUALTIES	KILL	SONS
CHILD	LIFE	STUDENTS
CITIES	LIVE	SUFFER
CITIZENS	LIVING	SURVIV
CIVILIAN	LOVE	THE_SUFFERING
DEAD	MAN	THEIR_FAMILIES
DEADLY	MEN	TO_KILL
DEATH	MEN_AND_WOMEN	TORTURE
DIE	MURDER	VETERANS
FAMILIES	NAPALM	VILLAGES
FAMILY	NAVAL	WOMEN
FIRE	NEIGHBORS	WOMEN_AND
FRIEND	OWN_PEOPLE	YOUNG
HEALTH	PERSON	YOUNG_MEN

TABLE 2.4.2: Keywords Used in the Category of TRADE-AID-SOVERIEGNTY

TRADE – AID – SOVEREIGNTY (n=52) Cronbach Coefficient Alpha RAW = 0.740783		
AID	HEALTH	RESOURCES
ALLIANCE	HUMANITARIAN	RESPONSIBILITY
BILLION	INDEPENDENCE	RIGHTS
COOPERATION	INDEPENDENT	SOCIETIES
COST	JUSTICE	SOCIETY
CULTURAL	LAND	SOIL
CULTURE	LIVING	SOLIDARITY
DAMAGE	MONEY	SOVEREIGN
DEMOCRACY	NEIGHBORS	SOVEREIGNTY
DEMOCRATIC	PEACE_AND	TERRITORIAL_INTEGRITY
DOLLARS	PEACE_AND_SECURITY	TERRITORY
ECONOMIC	PEACE_IN	TRADE
ECONOMY	PEACEFUL	UNITY
ENERGY	PRICE	VALUES
FINANCIAL	PROGRESS	WATER
FOOD	PROSPERITY	WEALTH
FREEDOM	RECONSTRUCTION	
FUNDS	RELATIONS	

TABLE 2.4.3: *Keywords used in the Categorization for Words of Aggression*

WORDS OF AGGRESSION – THREAT – MILITARY (n=89) Cronbach Coefficient Alpha RAW 0.414956		
AGGRESSION_AGAINST	EVIL	POWERFUL
AGGRESSION_IN	FEAR	PRESENCE
AGGRESSIVE	FIGHT	RESIST
AIR	FIGHTING_THE	RESISTANCE
AIRCRAFT	FORCES_IN	REVOLUTION
AN_ENEMY	FOUGHT	SETTLEMENT
AND_SECURITY	GUERRILLA	SOLDIERS
ARMED	HATRED	STRIKE
ARMS	HIT	STRUGGLE_AGAINST
ARMY	IMPERIALIS	TARGETS
ATTACK	INTELLIGENCE	TERROR
BASES	INVASION	TERRORIS
BATTLE	LAUNCHED	THE_COMMUNIST
BOMB	MILITARY_BASES	THE_DESTRUCTION
BRUTAL	MILITARY_FORCE	THE_ENEMY
BURNING	MISSILES	THE_SECURITY_OF
CAMPAIGN	NATIONAL_SECURITY	THREAT
COMBAT	NUCLEAR	THREAT_TO
COMMUNIS	NUCLEAR_WEAPONS	TO_LAUNCH
CONFLICT	OCCUPATION	UNITS
DANGER	OCCUPIED	USE_OF_FORCE
DEFEAT	OPERATION	VIOLATION
DEFEATED	OPERATIONS	VIOLENCE
DEFEND	OPPOSE	WAGE
DEFENSE	OPPOSITION	WARFARE
DESTROY	OUR_FORCES	WARS
DISARMAMENT	OUR_SECURITY	WEAPONS
DOMINATION	OUR_TROOPS	WIN
ENEMIES	PERSONNEL	WITHDRAWAL
ESCALATION	PLANES	

FIGURE SUPPLEMENT.1: List of All Text and Sources

<i>Presented</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Accessed</i>
<i>Aldouri, Mohammed</i>			
29-Oct-01	"Frontline Interview: Gunning for Saddam" Mohammed Aldouri, Iraqi ambassador to the United Nations. October 29, 2001.	http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/fron/outline/shows/gunning/interviews/aldouri.html	2/21/2007
31-Jan-03	PBS Online Newshour - AMBASSADOR AL-DOURI January 31, 2003 Iraqi ambassador to the U.N. Mohammed Al-Douri discusses his country's response to the U.N. weapons inspectors report presented to the United Nations Security Council this week.	http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/europe/jan-june03/aldouri_1-31.html	2/20/2007
05-Feb-03	Security Council Fifty-eighth year 4701st meeting Wednesday, 5 February 2003, 10.15 a.m. New York - Situation Between Iraq and Kuwait	http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/PRO/N03/236/00/PDF/N0323600.pdf?OpenElement	2/21/2007
27-Mar-03	Security Council Fifty-eighth year 4726th meeting Thursday, 27 March 2003, 9.30 a.m. New York	http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/PRO/N03/297/64/PDF/N0329764.pdf?OpenElement	2/21/2007
<i>Anderson, Ross C. "Rocky"</i>			
30-Aug-06	Address by Mayor Ross C. "Rocky" Anderson Washington Square Salt Lake City, Utah August 30, 2006	www.slsgov.com/mayor/speeches/2006%20speeches/SPdemonstration83006.pdf	2/8/2007
<i>Azores Atlantic Summit</i>			
18-Mar-03	Representatives of Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council	http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/285/80/PDF/N0328580.pdf?OpenElement	2/9/2007
<i>Blair, Tony</i>			
16-Mar-03	Prime Minister Tony Blair said yesterday that the international community had reached an impasse over its dealings with Iraq. Mr. Blair made his comments following a summit between the UK, the US and Spain in the Azores	http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page3282.asp	12/12/2006
18-Mar-03	18 March 2003 Opening a debate on Iraq in Parliament, Prime Minister Tony Blair warned that the issue 'will determine the pattern of international politics for the next generation'.	http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page3295.asp	2/6/2007
20-Mar-06	20 March 2003 Prime Minister's address to the Nation	http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page3327.asp	12/12/2006
<i>Bush, George W.</i>			
26-Feb-03	President Discusses the Future of Iraq American Enterprise Institute, Washington Hilton Hotel Washington,	http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030226-11.html	2/8/2007
15-Mar-03	President Discusses Iraq in Radio Address - March 15, 2003	http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030315.html	12/12/2006
19-Mar-03	Operation Iraqi Freedom: President Bush Addresses the Nation, Presidents Television Address from The Oval Office	http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html	2/6/2007
22-Mar-03	President Discusses Beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom, President's Radio Address	http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030322.html	12/12/2006

<i>Presented</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Accessed</i>
<i>Byrd, Robert C.</i>			
11-Mar-03	Senate Floor Speech - "America the Peacemaker Becomes America the Warmonger"	http://byrd.senate.gov/speeches/byrd_speeches_2003march/byrd_speeches_2003march_list/byrd_speeches_2003march_list_1.html	2/6/2007
21-Apr-04	Senate Floor Speech - "President Owes America Answers on Iraq"	http://byrd.senate.gov/speeches/byrd_speeches_2004_april/byrd_speeches_2004_april_list/byrd_speeches_2004_april_list_2.html	2/6/2006
<i>Cairns, James Dr.</i>			
01-Jan-68	"Vietnam and Beyond": JOHN CURTIN MEMORIAL LECTURE-1968, Dr. James Cairns	http://john.curtin.edu.au/jcmemlect/cairns1968.html	2/17/2007
<i>Cairo</i>			
19-Dec-02	CAIRO DECLARATION Against US hegemony and war on Iraq and in solidarity with Palestine	http://www.stopwar.org.uk/Resources/cairo.pdf	12/12/2006
14-Dec-03	2ND CAIRO DECLARATION: With the Palestinian and Iraqi Resistance - Against Capitalist Globalization and US Hegemony	http://www.stopwar.org.uk/article.asp?id=141203	12/12/2006
<i>Call To Resist</i>			
12-Oct-67	A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority (1967) - Published in NY Book Review	http://library.thinkquest.org/27942/spock.htm	2/13/2007
<i>Chinese Communist Government</i>			
08-Aug-64	Text of Peking's Response to U.S. Attack in North	New York Times August 8, 1964. Pp. 7	2/28/2007
<i>Chisholm, Shirley</i>			
06-May-72	"Democratic Party Presidential Candidate Speaks" Shirley Chisholm Congresswoman (D-NY); Co-founder, National Women's Political Caucus; Author, Unbought and Unbossed (Speech to the Commonwealth Club of	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/20thcentury/72-05chisholm-qa.html	2/13/2007
<i>Chomsky, Noam</i>			
01-Jan-70	After Pinkville - Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal on Vietnam, 1971	http://www.chomsky.info/articles/1971----02.htm	2/17/2007
<i>Clark, Gregory</i>			
08-Jul-72	NATION (JULY 8, 1972): Seven Years of Vietnam by Gregory Clark	http://www.gregoryclark.net/vietnam.html	2/17/2007
<i>Clinton, Hilary Rodham</i>			
10-Oct-02	Senate Floor Speech of Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton on S.J. Res. 45, A Resolution to Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq	http://clinton.senate.gov/speeches/iraq_101002.html	12/12/2006
<i>Crean, Simon</i>			
05-Feb-03	Text of address by Simon Crean to parliament on Iraq, This is the prepared text of Opposition Leader Simon Crean's speech on Labor's position on Iraq to parliament.	http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/02/04/1044318605090.html	2/7/2007

<i>Presented</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Accessed</i>
<i>Cronkite, Walter</i>			
27-Feb-68	Walter Cronkite's "We Are Mired in Stalemate" Broadcast, February 27, 1968	http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/learning_history/vietnam/cronkite.c	2/13/2007
<i>de Villepin, Dominique Galouzeau</i>			
14-Feb-03	U.N. Security Council France's minister of foreign affairs reaffirmed support for continuing inspections in Iraq, saying "the use of force is not justified at this time."	http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/iraq/france_2-14.html	12/12/2006
<i>Duan, Le</i>			
01-Nov-65	Le Duan, Thu Vao Nam [Letters to the South] (Hanoi: Nha Xuat Ban Su That, 1965), 119-162. To Southern Central Department November 1965	http://vietnam.vassar.edu/doc18.html	2/19/2007
<i>Duncan, Don</i>			
02-Feb-71	Winter Soldier Investigation: Closing Statement by Don Duncan	http://www3.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Winter_Soldier/WS_53_Closing.ht	2/17/2007
<i>European Union</i>			
05-May-03	BRUSSELS EUROPEAN COUNCIL 20 AND 21 MARCH 2003 PRESIDENCY CONCLUSIONS	http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/75136.pdf	2/9/2007
<i>Feingold, Russ</i>			
09-Oct-02	Statement of U.S. Senator Russ Feingold on Opposing the Resolution Authorizing the Use of Force Against Iraq From the Senate Floor	http://www.feingold.senate.gov/speeches/02/10/2002A10531.html	2/7/2007
<i>Fonda, Jane</i>			
22-Aug-72	Broadcast Over Radio Hanoi To American Servicemen Involved In The Indochina War by Jane Fonda American Actress, Political Activist	http://gos.sbc.edu/f/fonda.html	2/17/2007
<i>Frum, David</i>			
21-Jan-04	Defending American & Winning the War on Terror" - David Frum Former Speechwriter to President George W. Bush; Resident Fellow, the American Enterprise Institute; Co-author, An End to Evil (Speech to the Commonwealth Club of California)	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/04/04-01frum-	12/13/2006
<i>Gore, Al</i>			
23-Sep-02	"Iraq and the War on Terror" - At the Commonwealth Club (Speech to the Commonwealth Club of California)	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/02/02-09gore-speech.html	12/12/2006
07-Aug-03	Former Vice President Al Gore Remarks to MoveOn.org New York University	http://www.moveon.org/gore-speech.html	2/7/2007

<i>Presented</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Accessed</i>
<i>Gorton, John</i>			
16-Dec-69	Talk to the Nation Reduction of Forces in Vietnam Statement on Radio and Television by the Prime Minister Mr. John Gorton 16 December 1969	http://naa12.naa.gov.au/scripts/ItemDetail.asp?M=0&B=3911874	2/19/2007
22-Apr-70	Statement by the Prime Minister, The Right Honorable J. G. Gorton, MP, in the House of Representatives, Canberra Vietnam 22 April 1970	http://naa12.naa.gov.au/scripts/ItemDetail.asp?M=0&B=3911874	2/19/2007
<i>Gregory, Wilton D.</i>			
13-Sep-02	Letter to President Bush on Iraq - Bishop Wilton D.	http://www.usccb.org/sdwp/international/bush902.htm	2/7/2007
<i>Hanoi Radio</i>			
19-Dec-65	Text of Hanoi Disavowals TOKYO, Dec. 18 (AP) Following are the English language texts of a, statement and commentary broadcast by the Hanoi radio concerning Washington reports of a North Vietnamese peace feeler.	New York Times (December 19, 1965), Pp. 3	2/19/2007
<i>Holyoake, Sir Keith</i>			
18-Mar-71	Withdrawal of New Zealand Artillery Battery from South Vietnam	http://naa12.naa.gov.au/scripts/ItemDetail.asp?M=0&B=3911874	2/19/2007
<i>Horowitz, David</i>			
03-May-04	"Academic Freedom & the War on Terror" - David Horowitz President, Center for the Study of Popular Culture (Speech to the Commonwealth Club of California)	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/04/04-05horowitz-speech.html	12/13/2006
<i>Hussein, Saddam</i>			
06-Jan-03	Televised address by the Iraqi president to mark the 82nd anniversary of the establishment of the country's army	http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,,869642,00.html	2/9/2006
26-Feb-03	Interview taped on February 24, 2003, by Iraqi TV crews - with Dan Rather on CBS	http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2003/02/26/6011/main542151.shtml	2/9/2007
24-Mar-03	'The enemy is trapped in the sacred land of Iraq' Saddam Hussein made a national address on state television today. Extracts from the speech	http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,,920868,00.html	2/9/2007
<i>International Federation for Human Rights</i>			
17-Mar-03	"Question Of The Violation Of Human Rights And Fundamental Freedoms In Any Part Of The World" Written statement* submitted by International Federation of Human Rights Leagues, a non-governmental organizations in special consultative status.	http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G03/119/38/PDF/G031938.pdf?OpenElement	2/9/2007
<i>Iraqi Democrats Against Occupation</i>			
18-Mar-06	Statement by Iraqi expatriates on the Third Anniversary of the Occupation of Iraq	http://www.idao.org/2006/03/state-ment-by-iraqi-expatriates-on.xml	2/7/2007
<i>Ischinger, Wolfgang</i>			
02-Apr-03	"The U.S. & Germany: Damaged Partnership?" His Excellency Wolfgang Ischinger Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the U.S. (Speech to the Common Wealth Club of California)	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/03/03-04ischinger-speech.html	12/13/2006

<i>Presented</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Accessed</i>
<i>Johnson, Lyndon B.</i>			
17-Mar-64	Lyndon B. Johnson White House Statement on the Situation in South Viet-Nam. March 17th, 1964	http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/print.php?pid=26114	2/18/2007
05-Aug-64	President's Message to Congress, August 5, 1964	http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/tonkinsp.htm	2/9/2007
05-Aug-64	Lyndon B. Johnson Remarks at Syracuse University on the Communist Challenge in Southeast Asia. August 5th,	http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/print.php?pid=26419	2/15/2007
07-Apr-65	Lyndon Baines Johnson Address at Johns Hopkins University: Peace Without Conquest April 7, 1965	http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/honor/filmmore/ps_peace.html	2/9/2007
31-Mar-68	The President's announces he will not run for re-election - NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in his office at the White House. The address was broadcast nationally.	http://www.pbs.org/ladybird/shatteredreams/shatteredreams_doc_re_elect.html	2/9/2007
<i>Kennedy, Edward M.</i>			
27-Jan-05	Senator Edward M. Kennedy Discusses America's Future In Iraq At The Johns' Hopkins School Of International	http://kennedy.senate.gov/newsroom/speech.cfm?id=f92a453a-5f2f-4139-8ff9-16c1a4d250e1	12/12/2007
<i>Kennedy, John F.</i>			
26-Oct-61	Letter to President Ngo Dinh Diem on the Sixth Anniversary of the Republic of Viet-Nam. October 26th,	http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=8406&st=vietnam&st1=	2/18/2007
14-Feb-62	Response to a Question on American Involvement in South Vietnam, President Kennedy's News Conference, February 14, 1962	http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pentagon2/ps18.htm	2/15/2007
09-Sep-63	Transcript of Broadcast on NBC's "Huntley-Brinkley Report." September 9th, 1963	http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=9397	2/15/2007
<i>Kennedy, Robert F.</i>			
04-Jan-68	"What Do We Stand For? The Liberation of the Human Spirit." Robert F. Kennedy Presidential Nominee; United States Senator (D-NY); former U.S. Attorney General; Author (Speech to the Common Wealth Club of California)	http://commonwealthclub.org/archive/20thcentury/68-01kennedy-qa.html	1/31/2007
18-Mar-68	Robert Kennedy spoke at Kansas State University on March 18, 1968 as part of the Alfred M. Landon Lectures on Public Issues.	http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/rfk/filmmore/ps_ksu.html	2/9/2007
<i>Kerry, John</i>			
23-Apr-71	Vietnam Veterans Against the War - by John Kerry - testimony to the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations April 23, 1971	http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/vietnam/psources/ps_against.html	2/9/2007
30-Jun-71	ABC's special June 30, 1971 broadcast of "The Dick Cavett Show," Lieutenant John Kerry represented Vietnam Veterans Against the War - John O'Neill, representing Vietnam Veterans for a Just Peace	http://ice.he.net/~freepnet/kerry/index.php?topic=KerryONeill	2/13/2007

<i>Presented</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Accessed</i>
<i>King, Martin Luther, Jr.</i>			
04-Apr-67	Beyond Vietnam -- A Time to Break Silence delivered 4 April 1967 at a meeting of Clergy and Laity Concerned at Riverside Church in New York City	http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm	1/31/2007
30-Apr-67	Martin Luther King Jr.: "Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam" Sermon at the Ebenezer Baptist Church on April 30, 1967	http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article16183.htm	2/15/2007
<i>McNamara, Robert S</i>			
15-May-64	Transcript of the McNamara - Taylor News Conference	New York Times (May 15, 1964 p. 12)	2/22/2007
<i>Melbourne Anarchist</i>			
01-Jan-69	On the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam: Those Ten Points	http://www.takver.com/history/melbourne/maa30.htm	2/17/2007
<i>Miller, Norman</i>			
20-Feb-03	"Only in America" (Speech to the Common Wealth Club of California)	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/03/03-02mailerspeech.html	12/12/2006
<i>Minh, Ho Chi</i>			
29-Dec-65	Text of a message from President Ho Chi Minh to Pope Paul VI, as broadcast from Hanoi	New York Times (December 30, 1965) Pp. 6	2/20/2007
29-Jan-66	Text of the Letter of President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam to some heads of state and others broadcast over Hanoi Radio	New York Times (January 29, 1966) Pp 2	2/20/2007
15-Feb-67	Memorandum From the President's Special Assistant (Rostow) to President Johnson - The attachment, which is marked "Informal Translation," is a retyped copy of telegram 3502 from Moscow, February 15.	http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/johnsonlb/v/13140.htm	2/15/2007
03-Nov-68	Call to the Nation from president Ho Chi Minh (November 3, 1968)	http://www.ena.lu/mce.cfm	2/15/2007
<i>Morgenthau, Hans</i>			
18-Apr-65	"We Are Deluding Ourselves in Vietnam" New York Times Editorial	New York Times Sunday Magazine, Pp. 25-29	2/15/2007
<i>Muller, Bob</i>			
23-Jul-71	A Veteran Speaks--Against the War Bob Muller, Vietnam Veterans Against the War Presented at a meeting of the Student Assembly of Columbia University Student Assembly, July 23, 1971.	http://lists.village.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/VVAW_Muller.html	2/17/2007
<i>National Liberation Front</i>			
20-Dec-60	Program of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-	http://vietnam.vassar.edu/docnlf.html	2/15/2007
<i>National People's Congress of Communist China</i>			
20-Apr-65	Hong Kong, April 20 (Reuters) – Following is the text of a resolution passed by the standing committee of the National People's Congress of Communist China, as transmitted in English by Hsinhua Press Agency.	New York Times (April 21, 1965), Pp 2.	2/19/2007

<i>Presented</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Accessed</i>
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Negroponte, John D.

21-Mar-03	Letter dated 20 March 2003 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security	http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/290/79/PDF/N0329079.pdf?OpenElement	2/9/2007
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Nixon, Richard M.

03-Nov-69	"The Great Silent Majority": Address to the Nation delivered November 3, 1969	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/richardnixongreatsilentmajority.html	1/31/2007
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30-Apr-70	Cambodian Incursion Address delivered 30 April 1970 from Washington, DC	http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/FlashDocuments/Richard%20Nixon%20-%20Cambodian%20Incursion%20Address.swf	1/31/2007
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07-Apr-71	Address to the Nation on Vietnam - Television delivered 7 April 1971	http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/richardnixonvietnamsituation.html	1/31/2007
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26-Oct-02	Remarks of Illinois State Sen. Barack Obama Against Going to War with Iraq - Peace Rally Federal Plaza, Chicago	http://www.obama2010.us/2002/10/26/iraq_war.php	2/4/2007
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22-Nov-05	Moving Forward in Iraq - Senator Barack Obama Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Chicago, IL	http://www.obama2010.us/2005/11/22/moving_forward_in_iraq.php	
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20-Nov-06	A Way Forward in Iraq November 20, 2006 Chicago Council on Global Affairs	http://www.obama2010.us/2006/11/20/a_way_forward_in_iraq.php	2/5/2007
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19-Jan-07	Barack Obama - U.S. Senator for Illinois - Floor Statement on President's Decision to Increase Troops in Iraq Friday, January 19, 2007	http://obama.senate.gov/speech/070119-floor_statement_on_presidents_decision_to_increase_troops_in_iraq/index.html	2/6/2007
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30-Jun-71	ABC's special June 30, 1971 broadcast of "The Dick Cavett Show," Lieutenant John Kerry represented Vietnam Veterans Against the War - John O'Neill, representing Vietnam Veterans for a Just Peace	http://ice.he.net/~freepnet/kerry/index.php?topic=KerryONeill	2/13/2007
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Pataki, George E.

26-Jan-07	"A Way Forward In Iraq" - Georgetown University	http://www.freedompac.com/news/Read.aspx?ID=36	2/8/2007
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Paul, Ron

08-Oct-02	Congressman Ron Paul U.S. House of Representatives October 8, 2002 Statement Opposing the use of Military Force against Iraq	http://www.house.gov/paul/congress/congrec2002/cr100802.htm	2/6/2007
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14-Nov-02	Congressman Ron Paul U.S. House of Representatives November 14, 2002 Unintended Consequences	http://www.house.gov/paul/congress/congrec2002/cr111402.htm	2/7/2007
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17-Apr-65	"Naming The System" Speech By Paul Potter April 17, 1965. 25,000 people marched on Washington to end the war in Vietnam. After hours of picketing the White House, the President of SDS, Paul Potter, spoke in front of the Washington Monument.	http://www.studentsforademocraticsociety.org/documents/paul_potter.html	2/9/2007
<i>Powell, Colin L.</i>			
14-Feb-03	Remarks to the United Nations Security Council	http://www.state.gov/secretary/foimer/powell/remarks/2003/17763.h	12/12/2006
<i>Pravda</i>			
28-Mar-65	"Stop the dirty war of the U.S.A. in Indochina!" Pravda Editorial	http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/11/1st.draft/pravda.html	2/17/2007
<i>Progressive Labor Party</i>			
01-Jan-71	"CONCLUSION -- Drive the U.S. Out of Asia! Build Internationalism! Fight for Workers' Power" Extracted From The Labor Manifest	http://www.plp.org/vietnam/vn10.html	2/17/2007
<i>Putin, Vladimir V.</i>			
20-Mar-03	Annex to the letter dated 20 March 2003 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General Statement by the President of the Russian Federation	http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/289/29/PDF/N0328929.pdf?OpenElement	2/9/2007
<i>Ramadan, Taha Yasin</i>			
21-Mar-03	Annex to the letter dated 21 March 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General - from Mr. Taha Yasin Ramadan, Vice-President of the Republic of Iraq	http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/290/97/PDF/N0329097.pdf?OpenElement	2/9/2007
<i>Republic of South Vietnam</i>			
01-Jul-71	Peace Proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, July 1,	http://vietnam.vassar.edu/doc20.html	2/15/2007
<i>Rice, Condoleezza</i>			
23-Jan-03	"Why We Know Iraq is Lying" A New York Times Column by Dr. Condoleezza Rice	http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030123-1.html	12/12/2006
<i>Rockefeller, Nelson A.</i>			
29-May-64	"On The Significance Of The California Primary: The Kind Of America I Want To See" Nelson A. Rockefeller Governor, New York; Republican Presidential Candidate; Philanthropist (Speech to the Common Wealth Club of	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/20thcentury/64-05rockefeller-qa.html	1/31/2007
<i>Roy, Arundhati</i>			
24-Jun-05	Opening Statement On Behalf Of The Jury Of Conscience Of The World Tribunal Of Iraq by Arundhati Roy Booker Prize winning novelist & Sydney Peace Prize winner	http://gos.sbc.edu/r/roy.html	2/17/2007
<i>Rumsfeld, Donald H.</i>			
03-Aug-06	Opening Statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee As Delivered by Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, DC, Thursday, August 03, 2006	http://www.defenselink.mil/Speeches/Speech.aspx?SpeechID=1030	2/7/2006

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<i>Rusk, David Dean</i>			
22-Apr-63	Secretary Rusk's Address, "The Stake in Viet-Nam" (The Economic Club of New York, at New York, April 22, 1963)	http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pentagon2/ps33.htm	2/15/2007
23-Apr-65	Address by Secretary Rusk, Made before the American Society of International Law on April 23, 1965, "The Control of Force in International Relations" April 23rd, 1965	http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/vietnam/showdoc.php?docid=95	2/13/2007
<i>Sabri, Naji</i>			
13-Nov-02	Letter dated 13 November 2002 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General - Naji Sabri Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of	http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/690/99/PDF/N0269099.pdf?OpenElement	2/9/2007
18-Mar-03	Annex to the identical letters dated 18 March 2003 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council - (Signed) Naji Sabri Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq	http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/287/23/PDF/N0328723.pdf?OpenElement	2/9/2007
<i>Schultz, George P.</i>			
17-May-04	"The Changed World" - The Honorable George P. Shultz Director, Bechtel Group; Former U.S. Secretary of State (Speech to the Common Wealth Club of California)	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/04/04-05shultz-speech.html	12/12/2006
<i>Sharpton, Al</i>			
11-Dec-03	"Address to the Club" - Al Sharpton Reverend; Civil Rights Activist; Democratic Candidate for President (Speech to the Common Wealth Club of California)	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/03/03-12sharpton-speech.html	12/13/2006
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02-Dec-70	Statement on the deteriorating situation in Indo-China (Berlin, 2 December 1970)	http://www.ena.lu/mce.cfm	2/17/2007
<i>Smith, Robert</i>			
19-Oct-03	Lies That Aren't Lies, Mistakes That Aren't Mistakes, and Hypocrisy That Isn't Hypocrisy: Taming the American Bully Address by Robert Smith on Behalf of Military Families Speak Out - The Unity Festival in Tokyo	http://www.mfso.org/article.php?id=78	2/8/2007
<i>Stevenson, Adlai</i>			
27-Feb-65	U.S. Report to U.N. Security Council: Text of a letter from Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, U. S. Representative to the United Nations, to Ambassador Roger Seydoux, President of the U.N. Security Council	The American Journal of International Law 59(3):632-633.	2/15/2007
<i>Straw, Jack</i>			
01-Apr-03	Speech by the foreign secretary, Jack Straw, to the Newspaper Society Annual Conference.	http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,,927371,00.html	2/19/2007
<i>The Arab Bath Socialist Party</i>			
09-Sep-03	The political and strategic program of the Iraqi Resistance - The Arab Baath Socialist Party Iraq on the 9th September 2003 Translated from Arabic by Abu Assur	http://www.al-moharer.net/qiwa_shabiya/baath9-9-03e.htm	2/9/2007

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01-Oct-68	"Why Socialists oppose the Vietcong" Editorial in The Standard	http://www.worldsocialism.org/spgb/centenary/vietcong(1968).pdf	2/17/2007
01-Dec-70	"The Socialist Party and War - War in Vietnam" Editorial in The Standard	http://www.worldsocialism.org/spgb/pdf/spwar.pdf	2/17/2007
<i>Tokyo Declaration</i>			
26-May-03	TOKYO DECLARATION The International Solidarity Forum was convened in Osaka and Tokyo on 24-25th May to address the people's concerns against the occupation of Iraq and the expansion of the US-led neo-imperialist project across the world.	http://www.stopwar.org.uk/article.asp?id=260503	12/12/2006
<i>US State Department</i>			
27-Feb-65	State Department White Paper On Vietnam	http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/vietnam/psources/ps_north.html	2/9/2007
<i>Vietnam Veterans Against the War</i>			
01-Jul-72	"Objectives of Vietnam Veterans Against The War Inc." Mission Statement for Vietnam Veterans Against War	http://www.vvaw.org/veteran/article/?id=317	2/17/2007
<i>Williams, William A.</i>			
30-Jul-65	Transcript of public testimony at hearings held in the First Methodist Church, Madison, Wisconsin ". . . STATEMENT OF MR. WILLIAM A. WILLIAMS, PROFESSOR IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON	http://vietnam.vassar.edu/ladrang06.html	2/15/2007
<i>Wolfowitz, Paul</i>			
06-Dec-03	"Building a Bridge to a More Peaceful Future" - Paul Wolfowitz Deputy Secretary of Defense (Speech to the Common Wealth Club of California)	http://www.commonwealthclub.org/archive/02/02-12wolfowitz-speech.html	12/13/2006
<i>Yost, Charles W.</i>			
05-May-70	The United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations transmitted to the President of the Security Council a letter, dated May 5, 1970	The American Journal of International Law 64(4):932-933.	2/16/2007
<i>Zedong, Mao</i>			
20-Oct-65	Mao's Conversation with the Party and Government Delegation of the DRV	http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.document&identifier=5034F74E-96B6-175C-9F53CF545046CEB7&sort=Collection&item=The%20Vietnam%20(In%20china)%20War(s)	2/15/2007